

THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



BYZANTINE  
DRESS

REPRESENTATIONS  
*of* SECULAR DRESS  
*in* EIGHTH- *to* TWELFTH-  
CENTURY PAINTING

Jennifer L. Ball



# THE NEW MIDDLE AGES

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# BYZANTINE DRESS

## REPRESENTATIONS OF SECULAR DRESS IN EIGHTH- TO TWELFTH-CENTURY PAINTING

*Jennifer L. Ball*





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## CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
Introduction	1
1. Imperial Dress	11
2. Court Dress	37
3. Dress of the Borderland Elite	57
4. Non-Elite Dress	79
5. An Examination of the Textile Evidence	105
Conclusion	117
<i>Appendix: Middle Byzantine Dress Fragments</i>	123
<i>Notes</i>	129
<i>Bibliography</i>	159
<i>Index</i>	175

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Middle Byzantine court of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (r. 913–59), a courtier participating in a single day's festivities, processing to the Great Church and back, changed his outfit five times.<sup>1</sup> This same courtier was paid throughout the year with textiles, garments, and accessories, in addition to money. Entire prescriptive volumes were written to help him and others in the palace know what to wear for what occasion. Byzantine scholars have long been interested in the official regalia of their subject, especially as it relates to court ceremony. However, the dress of the imperial entourage and other courtiers is largely seen, within and outside of Byzantine scholarship, as a vestige from the Roman Empire and strictly prescribed like a uniform. This book argues that while Byzantine dress necessarily followed long-established traditions at court, the Byzantines when left to their own devices were extremely interested in creating, borrowing, and wearing fashionable dress.

Fashion was a high art in Byzantium. The fashions that were created in the empire were considered to be among the finest in the European and Mediterranean worlds. The styles they wore permeated borders becoming the envy of Western courts.<sup>2</sup> Dress was also of primary importance to Byzantines at other levels of society outside of court, but little attention has been paid to these citizens. For example, the educated writer of histories or saints' lives recorded descriptions of clothing with the knowledge of a connoisseur. An Early Byzantine text describes slaves wearing golden girdles to highlight their masters' wealth.<sup>3</sup> An average citizen of Constantinople staying in the Xenon hospital in the Pantokrator Monastery would not only get the clothing he wore upon admittance washed, but also receive a new set of clothes upon release.<sup>4</sup> Sumptuous gold and silk clothing enhanced miraculous visions of holy persons in saints' lives.<sup>5</sup> Even a charioteer in the hippodrome dressed elegantly for competition.<sup>6</sup> It is only the nun or monk who was caught wearing plain clothes of coarse fabric, perhaps in reaction to the fashion-obsessed society in which they lived. The overwhelming importance of dress to the Byzantines themselves warrants a thorough study of their fashions, yet none has been written to date.<sup>7</sup>

Byzantine dress, like that of any period, forms a code that identified the wearer, suggesting rank, wealth, gender, profession, and locale. This code could be semiotic, that is, a conscious and specific code to be read by others; the most obvious example of this is court dress, which consisted of prescribed garments, colors, and accessories that signified an exact rank. The code of dress in the Byzantine world could also be an unconscious expression of belonging to a particular group or class—displaying meaning but not in a precise and legible way as with court dress; a typical example can be found in the dress of wealthy women living in Kastoria, Greece in the twelfth century. They wore dresses with long, gaping sleeves—a Western-style detail—and imported fabrics suggesting Kastoria’s frequent interaction with the West compared to other parts of the empire and its proximity to a hub of textile trade. Sociologist Fred Davis points out that in general the identity suggested by one’s clothing can be uncertain; the same garment can signify different things over time and locale, for example, or be understood differently from one group to the next.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps [clothing] can best be viewed as an incipient or quasi-code, which, although it must necessarily draw on the conventional visual and tactile symbols of a culture, does so allusively, ambiguously, and inchoately, so that the meanings evoked by the combinations and permutations of the code’s key terms (fabric, texture, color, pattern, volume, silhouette, and occasion) are forever shifting or “in process.”<sup>9</sup>

Historians cannot expect, in other words, to crack the code, so to speak, of Byzantine dress, even when the code is more obvious, such as with imperial dress. Instead, we should expect to uncover Byzantine attitudes about clothing and, by extension, identity (gender, ethnicity, status, and the like). Furthermore, we can attain greater understanding of portraits through the messages conveyed by the subject’s garments.

Dress is inevitably linked with fashion, the phenomenon of change in the accepted code when the wearer and viewer would read new meanings in dress.<sup>10</sup> A Byzantine example can be found in the turban: an honorific headpiece bestowed upon a ruler in Armenia or in Islam, became a status symbol in the Eastern provinces and finally, after the association with Islam faded, the fashion caught on in the capital city.

Many dress historians would argue that fashion did not arise until the Renaissance, when the rate of change in dress accelerated and an institutionalized system that designed, created, and sold clothes developed. Fashion is generally regarded as beginning in fourteenth-century Italy or France.<sup>11</sup> These scholars would argue that before that time, and certainly in Byzantium, official regalia and utilitarian tunics existed but nothing that

could be defined as fashion. For example, Anne Hollander writes of medieval dress:

Clothes of the Middle Ages all over the Christian world, East and West, show a fairly static simplicity of shape. The sense of clothing that obtained in Europe until the twelfth century certainly allowed a great deal of variation in the length of different garments and the method of adjusting them, but these were mostly utilitarian differences, equally true of rich, poor and sacerdotal dress. Sumptuous fabrics were worn by the rich, mean ones by the poor; but the cut and fit of clothes were uniformly simple and unsophisticated for all classes and both sexes. Wealth and rank were expressed in the nobility's clothing but with no kind of aesthetic or stylistic superiority. Fashion was not really moving.<sup>12</sup>

This book argues, however, that a fashion system<sup>13</sup>—one in which clothing was designed, created, and consumed based on the desires and tastes of the Byzantines—existed in the Byzantine Empire alongside and intertwined with a traditional, prescribed dress code. The apparently sluggish changes in fashion reflect an economic situation that is different from later periods. Clothing was used until death and then reused,<sup>14</sup> which would account for a perceived lack of sophistication in the cuts of garments. Garments were reused for other purposes, such as liturgical functions, so that the same fabrics were in circulation again and again. The manufacture of garments was relatively slow when compared with later periods because of the distances merchants had to travel with fabrics and dyes, and because of simpler technology available to those weaving fabrics. Later medieval and Renaissance Italy, for example, found textile manufacture, dyeing, and the making of garments consolidated in Italy, which was not the case in Byzantium where dye specialists worked in Greece, linen was imported from Egypt, and silk was made in Constantinople and Syria. Despite this, fashion existed in Byzantium even though clothes were less shapely than in later periods.

It would be prudent to pause here and also discuss the term “dress,” which is equally, if not more important in this study than the word “fashion.” Historians have variously described the general subject of clothing as “costume,” “fashion,” and “dress.” Dress is any addition to or alteration of the body that is understood by both the wearer and the viewer as conveying meaning. The term dress is favored in the current literature on fashion theory and the history of dress for several reasons.<sup>15</sup> First, it incorporates alterations to the body, which a term such as “clothing” does not, going beyond what is simply worn. Hairstyles, tattoos, piercings, and the like can therefore be included under the term dress. The term dress has a second advantage in that it may refer to body alterations and additions of any

time period. Often historical dress is referred to by the word “costume” because those making costumes for theater prompted some of the first histories of dress. The description of dress as costume implies that people wore fantastical clothing that, in some way, was not real.<sup>16</sup> Scholars use the term “fashion” to describe dress from the Renaissance to the present, as if dress was simply utilitarian up until that point. The term dress, however, is not related to any concept of time, periodization, or history. The term dress is also neutral with respect to gender. As both the interest in fashion and the scholarly study of dress have been viewed as primarily the concern of women until recently,<sup>17</sup> it is crucial to use a gender-neutral term. Further, Byzantine men and women themselves, who were equally devoted to being fashionable, express the appropriateness of using a gender-neutral term.

The bias toward fashion as a modern phenomenon is not the only culprit in the underrepresentation of dress in the history of Byzantine scholarship. The study of Byzantine dress presents a great obstacle: almost no complete garments survive. Therefore, a small group of scholars have chosen to study textile fragments through an examination of their structure, avoiding a discussion of the clothing that these fragments constituted. Anna Muthesius has had the greatest impact on the study of Byzantine textiles culminating in her corpus of Byzantine silks.<sup>18</sup> Marielle Martiniani-Reber has also made major contributions to the study of Byzantine silks, linking their designs to Sassanian roots.<sup>19</sup> Economic historians have explored the same textiles in their study of the silk industry.<sup>20</sup> These studies, while essential to our knowledge of dress, do not attempt to understand the system of dress in Byzantium and its meanings.

As just mentioned a second reason as to why scholars have ignored Byzantine dress as a topic of study is that many dress historians would argue that fashion did not exist. Historians of Western medieval dress, led by Désirée Koslin and Janet Snyder,<sup>21</sup> have overturned this view; Byzantine scholars, however, have just begun to examine dress beyond imperial regalia. Most important is Maria Parani’s extensive study of *realia*, including dress, from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> Warren Woodfin has made major contributions to our understanding of ecclesiastical dress.<sup>23</sup> In addition some focused studies also expand our knowledge of Byzantine dress, such as Robert Nelson’s study of garments on saints pictured in the Chora Monastery, Joyce Kubiski’s insightful examination of Western borrowings of Late Byzantine and Ottoman dress, and Catherine Jolivet-Levy’s new look at the imperial dress of archangels.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, no study of secular dress, at all levels of society, has been undertaken thus far.

### Methodology

Through an examination of representations of dress in painting, this book seeks to elucidate a significant part of Byzantine fashion history: secular

dress from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. Paintings offer a degree of detail not found in representations of dress in other media. Folds, fastenings, layers, and colors are clearer than in sculptural or numismatic depictions of dress, the traditional media used for the study of clothing. Paintings offer a wide range of secular subjects from which to study dress, such as donor portraits in fresco, illuminations and mosaic, and historical scenes and depictions of everyday life in manuscripts.

I have organized this study according to the socioeconomic and geographical situation of the wearer. While this may seem prejudicial, this structure parallels the Byzantine use of clothing to distinguish class. A chronological history of dress would not only be impossible due to the limited materials but would also be a less fruitful channel of research due to the slow rate of change in fashions of the medieval period; for example, the *loros*, an imperial stole, remains the same for nearly seven centuries. A garment-by-garment survey of dress ignores the fact that this is a study of *representations* of dress. One must always keep in mind that Byzantine artists and patrons may have depicted particular styles of dress to express information about the *wearer* rather than the clothing itself. Representations of dress are best approached in the way that the Byzantines themselves viewed dress, as a mark of class, rank, and locale. Chapters 1 and 2 address Constantinopolitan dress of the imperial family and the court respectively. Chapter 3 contrasts the elite in borderlands with those of the capital. Chapter 4 attempts to deconstruct the typological representations of the non-elite citizens of the empire in an effort to glean both new meanings from these paintings and what may have been worn by the lower classes.

Chapter 5 examines the material evidence for dress and is accompanied by a catalogue of the few fragments of Middle Byzantine dress that survive (see appendix). This comprises the second category of data for Middle Byzantine dress. These will be used to compare and corroborate or dispel the dress seen in the painted representations. As so few garment fragments survive, the focus of the text is on the representations and their meanings as conveyed through dress; the textiles help give life to the painted record and to discern the fantastical from the probable portraits.

In addition to the visual and material evidence, a third and extremely important source will be used: literary descriptions of dress. Two prescriptive texts on dress survive from the Middle Byzantine era, *The Book of Ceremonies* and *The Kletorologion*, which provide invaluable information for the dress historian. *The Book of the Eparch* adds to our knowledge of commerce regulations surrounding the making and selling of textiles and dress in tenth-century Constantinople. Combined with descriptions of dress, common in historical accounts and saints' lives, the history of Middle Byzantine secular dress is made visible in the literary accounts.



The Middle Byzantine period was selected for this book as it represents the apex of Byzantine dress, which notably coincides with Byzantine dominance of the textile industry in Europe. Dress of the early period remains largely a vestige of the Roman Empire. The emperor continues to wear the military-influenced short *chlamys* and tunic, for example; the *toga* is still visible in the consular *loros*; the simple tunic with vertical *clavi* is the same one worn throughout the Roman period. Dress of the late period, after the Byzantine Empire comes into far greater contact with the West after the fourth crusade, becomes less distinctly Byzantine. The clothes tend to incorporate several styles from Western European locales at once, especially Italian ones to where the textile industry shifts. For example, the “Byzantines” of Crete typically wear what should rightly be called Venetian dress; in the capital, Venetian and Genoese merchants dominate the textile and clothing markets importing a greater number of Western styles. Furthermore, in Kastoria we find that Bulgarian dress dominates, while in Anatolia Byzantine dress gives way to Ottoman Turkish styles. While dress of the Middle Byzantine period certainly exhibits outside influence, it is not to the degree that it does in the later period. Western European travelers describe dress of the middle period as “Greek” and distinct from styles with which they were familiar. My preliminary findings of dress of the late period show that issues of colonization play a far greater role.<sup>25</sup> In the Middle Byzantine period a truly Byzantine style of dress emerges; the textile patterns most associated with Byzantine dress become ubiquitous in the Middle Byzantine era; the imperial insignia is standardized in the Middle period.

The study of dress through painting raises the question of accuracy and the degree of license allowed to the artist. Recourse to literary and material evidence can be used to some extent to confirm the veracity of depictions of dress. Furthermore, the visual evidence used in this study was limited to portraits, wherever possible. The reliability of portraits for correct depictions of dress is greater, as the artist’s intention was to create an accurate record of a real person and the artist was painting during the person’s lifetime, although no one sat for portraits in Byzantium as far as we know. Genre scenes, where greater artistic license and schematized representations were used, will only be employed in this study where no portraits exist, such as in the examination of the dress of the working class.

Notably, religious imagery, such as portraits of saints, Christological scenes and the like, has largely been left out of this study. In portraits, the artist is certainly trying to portray an actual person, whose clothes form part of his or her identity. We can therefore assume some level of accuracy. Religious subjects, however, are shown—sometimes in the same work—in pseudo-Biblical dress and Byzantine clothing—and not always contemporary

clothing—strongly suggesting that the artist was unconcerned with details of correctly portraying dress. In addition, the Byzantine viewer must have understood the contemporary dress of religious figures in painting in terms of the dress of actual persons, the codes of which are still unclear. Therefore, it is important first to establish what the basic meanings of dress in the simplest imagery are—in portraits and other scenes of actual people—and then proceed to interpreting the use of contemporary dress in religious imagery. In other words deciphering imperial dress when worn by an emperor in an imperial portrait is a fundamental question that must be examined before the image of King David in Byzantine imperial dress can be understood. This study therefore attempts to lay the groundwork on Byzantine dress; ideally it will lead to better comprehension of the use of dress in more complex images, such as religious imagery.

Despite the attempt to cull the visual artifacts of Byzantium for paintings that seem most accurate, not to mention relying on Byzantine authors for truth in their descriptions of dress, it must be acknowledged that a precise picture of what was worn is impossible. Prejudices of artists and authors, and accidents of survival, are difficult to discern after hundreds of years. Furthermore, this study is not intended to tell a linear story of Byzantine dress, describing what went in and out of fashion and when. Rather a more interesting and feasible project is undertaken: the meanings of dress are used to elucidate Byzantine paintings and give new readings to many of these portraits. In addition, the use of dress in paintings, from codified images of the tattered rags of the poor to the opulence of the imperial garb, further illuminates the Byzantine attitudes about themselves and others as they are expressed through dress. The Byzantines not only dressed to express rank and wealth, but also dressed out of desire. Their interest in fashion highlights not only the importance of textiles and dress as an economic force in the Byzantine world, but also the aesthetic and artistic importance of dress.

### **Paradigms of Byzantine Dress and Fashion**

Several major paradigms emerged out of this study of the messages conveyed by dress, which can enlighten us as to how the fashion system operated in the Byzantine world. First, there were multiple fashion centers in the medieval world—Byzantine and otherwise—and notably fashions often sprang from places that were geographically peripheral to the capital city, such as Cappadocia. The modern reader expects a dominant fashion center—Constantinople—disseminating fashion in a ripple effect out to the provinces, as New York or Los Angeles to middle America. However, the case studies of borderland provinces in chapter 3 demonstrate that

multiple fashion centers existed which in turn gave Byzantine citizens a wide range of selection in garments and fabrics. Further, our limited textile evidence demonstrates a substantial movement of clothing across borders. In the Byzantine Empire the changes in the commonly worn and accepted garments, which constitute fashion, were more often than not originating outside of the capital city.

An economic paradigm also became clear in the examination of Middle Byzantine secular dress. One expects clothes to approximate wealth: a contemporary case in point, designer clothing is more expensive and worn by wealthier people than clothes from large chain stores, worn by middle and lower classes. In the Byzantine world, this marker of wealth was taken a step further: wealth was literally conveyed with clothing because it was often equivalent to one's salary, dowry, or inheritance. In addition to coins, most courtiers were paid in textiles and garments, so the clothes on their backs corresponded directly to, and were not just suggestive of, their salaries. The bulk of one's dowry as well as one's will was composed of clothing and textiles, so one's clothing, home furnishings, and linens was a literal tally of inheritance or a dowry.

Important to the Byzantine code of dress is the adherence to tradition. Contrary to the characterization of ceremonial dress by scholars as staid, the adherence to tradition is selective, calculated, and sophisticated. For example, the Byzantines refer to their Roman past with particular garments, such as the *loros*, to conjure up specific ceremonies appropriated for Byzantine purposes. They do not simply reuse Roman garments, rather they are adapted for Byzantine use to send shrewd and complex political messages. The fashion system, therefore, did not stop at the gates of the palace where clothing could simply be pulled from the imperial treasuries, but rather new clothing was created for court ceremonial, albeit a more traditional type of clothing. New styles emerged within the prescribed insignia.

Contemporary fashion theorists often discuss the dissemination of fashion to the mass market, a phenomenon ascribed to the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> Before this time it is understood that the economics of the fashion industry were such that all but the upper echelons of society, who paid to have their clothing made according to the tastes of the day, were excluded. In Byzantium, and likely in other premodern cultures, some literary and textile evidence, in addition to representations point to a greater variety of Byzantine clothing than is apparent in Byzantine painting. While it is difficult to sift through the stereotypical representations of non-elites, there are a few sources that point to a variety of options available for non-elites. Furthermore, our textile evidence reinforces the notion that other levels of society participated in the buying, selling, and wearing of fashions.

Finally, from this study the rate of changes in fashion, that is, a fashion season, has emerged. I propose that the Middle Byzantine period itself, or an equivalent length of time, is a fashion season in which we see styles emerge, spread, and often peter out. The *loros* is the most obvious example, which becomes the norm for imperial dress at the beginning of the period and becomes less important in the Late Byzantine period. In addition we see the *tiraz* and *turbans* enter into fashions during the period until they finally become accepted at court; these fashions last into the Late Byzantine period. Dresses for women are introduced at the end of the Middle Byzantine era and replace the tunic for women in the late period. Scholars have ignored change in fashions simply because it does not happen as quickly as it does in the modern world; if we accept the slow change of fashions, however, we get a more accurate picture of the fashion system.

## CHAPTER 1

### IMPERIAL DRESS

The portrait of the Empress Eudokia, wife of Basil I (r. 867–86), with her sons, Leo and Alexander, in the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Gr. 510, fol. Br) (see plate 1), presents two interesting problems of interpreting the imperial dress in which all three are shown.<sup>1</sup> Each figure wears a *loros* that crosses down over the shoulders and chest, while the back panel winds around the hip, to the front of the body, and hangs over the arm. Under this jewel-studded *loros* each wears a *divetesion*, a long, silk, ceremonial tunic. An identical semi-spherical *stemma* sits on each of their heads and each wears pointed, silk slippers studded with pearls called *tzangia*. This portrait, and many others like it, would have us believe that this garb was standard dress for the Middle Byzantine emperor. However, contemporary literary sources, such as *The Book of Ceremonies*, tell us that this outfit was worn only on Easter and that, despite surviving portraits, official dress usually consisted of a *chlamys* in place of the *loros*. When and where the *loros* was worn has much to do with interpreting its meaning. A second important issue raised by this exemplary image is that the empress is depicted in the same dress as the two young emperors, despite gender differences. This is unusual because Byzantine courtiers and noblemen and women typically display gender differentiation in their dress. Indeed no other royal couple in the Middle Ages assumed a unisex manner of dress.

Official imperial dress seen in images differs from what was actually worn. The empress seems to break from traditional gender roles and dress with little or no variation from her male counterpart. A survey of the roles played by the most significant imperial garments, the *loros* and the *chlamys*, may help explain why the emperor and empress dressed alike and more importantly why their dress in portraits differs so greatly from their usual ceremonial dress.

### The History of Imperial Garments

Imperial ceremonial dress evolved from garments that date back to the second century BCE. From this time, Romans began to develop many variations on the toga, including the *toga trabea*. In this version, the toga develops vertical, red stripes and a purple hem. By the second-century CE, the toga gave way to more easily worn styles, but Roman consuls continued to wear their richly embroidered *trabea* for ceremony.<sup>2</sup> The *loros* derived from the *trabea triumphalis*, a ceremonial toga worn by Roman consuls until the sixth century when the consulate was dissolved. This toga evolved into a heavy stole made of leather, studded with precious stones and pearls and wrapped round the body in the same manner as the original *trabea triumphalis*. *Loros* derives from the word *lorion* meaning leather, but the garment could also be made of thickly embroidered silk. The word was first used in Aristophanes, referring to a leather thong. The earliest Byzantine use of the word, referring to the garment we know today, was in the sixth century<sup>3</sup>. The *loros* reached from the ankles to the shoulders in the front while the back panel was long enough to fall to the buttocks, come around the front of the body and cross over the arm to knee, probably totaling at least twelve feet in length (see plate 1). In the Early Byzantine period, the *loros* came straight up the back and formed an X in the front of the body, with one piece falling straight to the ankles and the other piece crossing the chest and falling over the arm. In the Middle Byzantine period, an opening was added so that the *loros* could be pulled over the head and worn like a poncho, as seen in the imperial portraits of Zoe and Constantine IX Monomachos in Hagia Sophia.<sup>4</sup> The *loros* simultaneously maintained these two forms—the X and the pullover—throughout the Middle Byzantine period until the twelfth century when it is no longer seen in portraits.<sup>5</sup> There was no evolution in either type of garment and the pullover version eventually supplanted the other.<sup>6</sup>

Both types of *loroi* either have two, three, or four rows of jewels cut in squares, which are surrounded by pearls creating a checkerboard of precious gems. On occasion imperial images on coins, such as one bearing Romanos IV (r. 1068–71), Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78) and his brother Constantine of 1067–71, depict the *loros* with only one row of jewels. But this could be a simplification due to the constraints of working within the small space of a coin. The same Romanos IV wears a *loros* with four rows of jewels when pictured with his wife, Eudokia Makrembolitissa (d. 1078), on the ivory of 1068–71, further supporting the idea that the coin depicts an aberrant version of the *loros*.<sup>7</sup>

Around the tenth century, the *loros* began to be worn with a jeweled collar.<sup>8</sup> Nikephoros Phokas (r. 963–69), the famed usurper who took the

throne and the wife of Romanos II (r. 959–63), pictured in the Cavusin church in his homeland of Cappadocia, wears the earliest example of a collar over his *loros*<sup>9</sup> (plate 2). Eudokia, his wife who colluded with the usurper for the protection of her sons Basil II (r. 976–1025) and Constantine VIII (r. 1025–28), also wears a collar in this image. As was the case with the *loros*, the collar has no linear evolution in style throughout the centuries. Some chose to wear it while others did not. It was worn both over and under the *loros*. The Empress Zoe (ca. 978–1050), who had her portrait changed in Hagia Sophia when the portrait of her newest husband was added, wears the collar over her *loros*, while her third husband, Constantine IX Monomachos, wears the collar under the *loros*.

The *stemma* or *diadem* (crown) of the emperors, like the *loros*, had ancient origins.<sup>10</sup> The Emperor Constantine I (r. 324–37) opted to wear the Hellenistic *diadem*, a simple headband that tied at the back, which dated to Alexander the Great, who was the first to wear it as an exclusive symbol of his succession to the empire.<sup>11</sup> Constantine seized upon this symbol to emulate the great conqueror. The Byzantine *diadem* was a round or semi-circular headpiece consisting of jeweled panels from which hung other precious stones and pearls called *pendulia*. The Hellenistic *diadem* often had fringe hanging from it, of which, I suggest, the *pendulia* seems to be a Byzantine adaptation. The *diadem* was worn in many variations until the twelfth century. Although images do not reveal more than this, the *Book of Ceremonies* mentions crowns of different colors, which Michael McCormick suggests could refer to the lining.<sup>12</sup> The Middle Byzantine *stemma* varied greatly, perhaps because emperors and empresses usually owned multiple crowns.<sup>13</sup> Some similarities, however, can be shown. The Middle Byzantine crown did not rise more than a few inches above the brow with few exceptions. Some empresses had additional points rising up from their crowns, but not in all cases. Above the front, center panel of the *stemma* was often a cross; on occasion, some other pointed ornament rose above the basic structure of the *stemma*. *Pendulia*, usually made of pearls, hung down just in front of the ears falling just below the chin, often fanning out in a floral form at the bottom.

We have many descriptions of the slipper-like, jeweled *tzangia* worn by the emperor but few depictions of them, because long tunics often cover the feet. Little of the history of *tzangia* is known, because unlike the other imperial garments, there was no ancient counterpart. Full shoes were uncommon in ancient times and instead sandals or boots were worn. In terms of imperial insignia, however, the *tzangia* were evidently as significant as the *stemma* and *loros* for symbolizing imperial power. In an effort to protect her sons' right to the throne, the Empress Maria of Alania insisted

that her son wear *tzangia* to signify his imperial rank under the acting Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates (r. 1078–81).

Constantine Porphyrogenitus. . .voluntarily set aside the purple buskins and adopted ordinary black ones, but the new emperor. . .ordered him to throw them away and wear silk shoes of various colors. . .The wearing of footwear resplendent with scarlet throughout he would not countenance, but granted him the privilege of a few strands of red. . .[W]hen Alexius Comnenus was proclaimed emperor, Maria. . .guaranteed. . .that [Constantine] should be co-ruler with Alexius, with the right to wear the purple sandals and a crown, and the right to be acclaimed as emperor with him. . .Constantine's woven silk shoes were removed and buskins wholly of red substituted for them.<sup>14</sup>

The shoes, particularly their color, gave Constantine imperial status, which is why Nikephoros was so careful to monitor the amount of the imperial red on them. However, Nikephoros, who was in the tenuous position of being an emperor through marriage to Constantine's mother while Constantine was still a minor, insisted that he wear more than common black shoes so as not to look underdressed. Anna Komnenos does not specifically use the word *tzangia* in this passage, but rather uses general terms for shoes (τεδίλων and ὑποδήματα). But we can be confident that she is describing the royal *tzangia* because she notes that they have multi-colored embroidery and are woven of silk (. . .ποικίλων δε σηρικῶν ὑφασμάτων ὑποδήματα).<sup>15</sup> A.E.R. Sewter opted to translate these terms using the word "buskins" (his translation is used above) to convey the idea of a soft, silk, slipper-like shoe; Bernard Leib in his translation into French uses the more literal ". . .[chaussures] en tissu de soie, de couleurs varies. . ."<sup>16</sup> but notes that these are *tzangia* described in the passage.<sup>17</sup> A shoe from Germany from around the year 1200 found in the tomb of Bishop Otto II in Bamberg Cathedral can give us an idea of what silken imperial shoes may have looked like.<sup>18</sup> The shoe is finely brocaded silk in what would have been a rich purple and green. An intricate pattern of roundels surrounded by pearls containing a geometric design covers the shoe. The shoe can be described more precisely as a pointed ankle boot that laced around the anklebone. The few images that illustrate *tzangia*, such as the pair worn by Nikephoros Botaneiates in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 79, fol. 2r) (plate 3) suggest that the most special pairs were gemencrusted on the top of the foot.<sup>19</sup>

Jewels reinforced the power represented by the *loros*, *stemma*, and *tzangia*. Each item must have weighed a tremendous amount. Imagine the weight of around five yards of heavy fabric or leather, encrusted with



jewels draped from head to foot and add to that a heavy metal crown and jeweled footwear. It is difficult to estimate exactly how much a jeweled crown would weigh but a pair of tenth-century, tin-plated, copper crowns in the Byzantine Museum in Athens can give some estimation.<sup>20</sup> One weighs 222 grams, or a little more than half a pound, the other 211 grams. Add to that several gemstones and the crown alone might weigh a pound and a half. Typically, the gemstones on a *loros* formed a grid of, on average, twelve rows of two large, square gemstones bordered by pearls. In one instance, representations attest to a *loros* with sixteen rows of four gemstones per row.<sup>21</sup> While it is impossible to tell for certain, it appears that the *loros* is most commonly depicted with rubies, sapphires, pearls; less often, emeralds are employed. In nearly twenty contemporary descriptions of imperial dress, only once is the type of stone mentioned. Manuel I (r. 1143–80) in a meeting with Kilic Arslan II, a twelfth-century Seljuk sultan, wore a garment “afire with rubies and glittered with pearls.”<sup>22</sup> Typically, imperial dress is described merely as laden with pearls and precious stones. This suggests that it was the norm for a variety of stones to be used on a single garment. An onlooker at an imperial ceremony would not only be impressed by the visual brilliance of jewels that the imperial couple wore, but by the reputed power of the jewels themselves. Michael Psellos’s treatise on gemstones reflects the commonly held beliefs about the powers of precious stones.<sup>23</sup> Almost all gemstones were invested with apotropaic powers, protecting, in particular, against diseases of the eye, but also against headaches, depression, and other ailments. Some stones, such as *αἰδαδάκτυλα* (Ida’s finger), an iron-colored stone originating on Crete’s Mt. Ida, were believed to bestow spiritual traits such as judiciousness. Between the *loros*, *stemma*, and *tzangia* the imperial couple not only carried all the empire’s wealth on their shoulders but they also radiated the healthy blessings that these gems offered. In addition to their apotropaic powers, the imperial gems symbolized the state’s vast territorial breadth, for gems were garnered from many regions of the empire.

The premier silk garment for imperial dress was the *divetesion*, worn beneath the *loros*. Like gemstones, silk displayed the wealth and magnitude of the empire. The *divetesion* was dyed with rich colors, often the imperial purple, which was so rare that it was reserved only for the imperial couple. The imperial purple was extracted from mollusk shells; approximately 12,000 shells were required to produce only 1.4 grams of pure dye, which would color the trim of the average garment.<sup>24</sup> Gold thread was usually woven into the brocaded *divetesion* as well. Metallic thread was manufactured either from filaments of metal, typically silver or gold, woven directly into cloth or they were strands of strong textile, usually silk, in which filaments were twisted to create a single thread. In the latter case, thread was usually

made from two to three strands of material twisted in an S- or Z-shape, for example, two silk filaments from the cocoon of a larval moth and one metal filament. Together the gold thread, brightly colored silk, and myriad of gemstones comprised a dazzling outfit meant to place the viewer in awe.

Emphasis was placed on the color of garments, with purple and gold usually reserved for imperial use. The love of purple and gold did not develop under the Byzantines, of course, but was a Roman custom that at first symbolized wealth and later signified imperial status.<sup>25</sup> Blue was typical for the *sebastokrator*, and green for the Caesar. White and red were also common for courtiers and the emperor, for cloaks and tunics worn for various functions. Descriptions of ceremonies show that while color was generally used to distinguish courtiers by rank, no single color can be ascribed to a particular position. Furthermore, colors varied depending on the ceremony. The symbolism of a particular color, if any existed, was not the concern of the Byzantine author.

### The Meaning of the *Loros*

Despite the cost of imperial insignia, in ceremony, the emperor rarely donned the *loros*, the most precious of these garments. Most often, we see the *loros* pictured in art—on coins and bullae, in donor mosaics, and in the frontispieces of manuscripts. Although the actual garment did exist, it was part of the Byzantine “crown jewels,” so to speak, to be worn rarely but pictured often, serving as a sort of icon of the empire itself. The garments typically worn by the emperor and empress, to be discussed later in this chapter, were, of course, sumptuous as well, but were more wearable and were not equated with the empire itself in the way the *loros* was.

If we accept the idea that the *loros* was the imperial insignia par excellence because of its greater presence in portraiture, then the question must be asked why was the *loros* worn only on Easter and other select occasions. In many ways, the *chlamys* with *tablion* played a greater role in Byzantine ceremony as it was worn for most other ceremonies including victory celebrations and coronations.<sup>26</sup> The *loros*, however, was considered to be more emblematic of the empire and the emperor’s role, as evidenced by when the emperor chose to wear it.

*The Book of Ceremonies* records that the garment was worn on the Feast of the Resurrection, Easter, the most important holiday in the Byzantine calendar. The feast is one of the oldest in Christian history, dating back to the second century.<sup>27</sup> In the first Nicaean Council of 325 CE, organized by Constantine, the date of the celebration of Easter was canonized as the first Sunday after the first full moon to follow the Vernal Equinox. From the fourth century onward, preparation for the holiday took place at the

conclusion of Lent during Holy Week. In Constantinople, the Easter vigil was celebrated beginning on Holy Saturday with vespers while baptisms were performed in Hagia Sophia.<sup>28</sup> *The Kletorologion* notes that the emperor also wore the *loros* during Pentecost, another significant feast day.<sup>29</sup> However, Philotheos does not mention the garment in connection with Pentecost, nor does any other source, suggesting that wearing the *loros* was not crucial for Pentecost as it apparently was for Easter.

According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, on Easter twelve other officials wore the *loros* besides the emperor. Vogt, a translator of *The Book of Ceremonies*, posits that this symbolized the twelve apostles with the emperor as Christ. However, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos writes of what *should* be worn for most ceremonies, and not necessarily what was actually worn. Furthermore, *The Kletorologion*, records only three officials who wear the garment on Easter; this suggests that Vogt's assumptions may be incorrect.<sup>30</sup> For Constantine VII the *loros* symbolized Christ's burial because it crossed over the body as a shroud.

For the *loroi* wrapped around the *magistri* and *patricii* on the Feast of the Resurrection of Christ our God recall His burial, while they recall, in the splendor of their gilding, the Resurrection. . . . In their wrappings being after the fashion of Christ's burial wrappings.<sup>31</sup>

This statement can only apply to the X-shaped *loros*. Hendy suggests, however, that the pullover *loros* resembled, in form, a Middle Byzantine burial shroud. I can find no evidence to support this: typically people were buried in their clothing.<sup>32</sup> A shroud was often placed over the body after it had been dressed and in all periods this shroud did not have a particular form. For the wealthy, a shroud could be a beautiful piece of fabric while for others it could be a simple piece of linen. Although, Constantine VII stresses the garment's relationship to Easter, it is doubtful that a spectator at the Easter mass or someone viewing a portrait of the imperial family in *loroi* would have gleaned the garment's Easter symbolism.

Michael Hendy notes a general Christianizing of secular ceremonies throughout the Byzantine period. For example, the *hypateia* ceremony of distributing largess was moved from January 1 to Easter during the eighth century, linking the secular ritual with the Christian feast.<sup>33</sup> Constantine seems to be echoing this Christianizing trend by equating the secular garment with Christ's shroud.

Easter, the most important Byzantine liturgical rite, would warrant wearing the richest imperial garment, the *loros*. A further tie between the rite itself and the *loros* can be found. The consuls wore the *loros* in the Early Byzantine period on January 1 during the distribution of the largess.

The many consular diptychs that survive, such as the Clementius diptych represent the consul seated in his *trabea* while slaves pour coins from large sacks.<sup>34</sup> This tradition of the consuls funding tournaments out of their own pocket was later replaced by a ceremony in which the emperor distributed luxurious gifts to the consuls to offset the consuls' payment of the games in the hippodrome, a practice that became too expensive. The distribution of largess, one of the most important consular ceremonies of the year, was moved to the feast of Easter, which for the Byzantines, was its equal in meaningfulness. Just as the distribution of salaries was transferred to Easter, so too was the *loros*, the garment of choice for the consuls. The emperor wearing his best clothes, namely the *loros*, conveyed the importance of the Easter events. In addition, the *loros* reinforced the continuity between the traditional consular practice of distributing the largess with the Easter ceremony, during which time many officials were paid.<sup>35</sup> The portrait of Zoe and Constantine IX (r. 1042–55) in Hagia Sophia reflects this use of the *loros*, where each figure is pictured in the garment. Constantine additionally holds a bag of money for donation. The spectator is perhaps meant to view this mosaic as representative of the emperor and empress on Easter, wearing their *loroi* and distributing gifts in coin.<sup>36</sup>

Basil I wore the *loros*, not for Easter, but for the dedication of his Nea Ekklesia, which fell on May 1, 880.<sup>37</sup> During this ceremony Basil distributed largess, making the *loros* the appropriate garment even though it was not the Easter feast.<sup>38</sup> This suggests that the link between the *loros* and the secular act of distributing gifts in coin superseded the ties between Easter and the *loros*.

In addition to symbolizing the empire's wealth, it was a religious symbol that placed the emperor in both an earthly and heavenly order. The emperor was God's defender on earth and this role was made clear through the *loros*. This is demonstrated by Henry Maguire in his convincing essay on Basil I's portrait in the Paris Gregory (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 510 fol. Cv). Maguire establishes that archangels are the only celestial beings to wear imperial attire, including the *loros*, and thus the emperor, in wearing the identical garments has the same rank in the heavenly hierarchy, a protector of God. The angels are portrayed in the *loros* precisely to convey the emperor's position in the heavenly order.<sup>39</sup> The average viewer of the Easter ceremony could easily make this connection, having seen countless angels don the *loros* on church walls.

The *loros* was worn on one other single occasion that we know of, and this ceremony sheds further light on the earthly meaning of the *loros*. During a prisoner exchange with the Arabs in the tenth century, the *loros* was worn again "because of the Saracen friends."<sup>40</sup> The event involves the emperor showing himself to foreigners highlighting the diplomatic

importance of the garment. Harun Ibn Yahya, a late ninth- to tenth-century Arab chronicler, describes the emperor in what was probably a *loros* worn with *tzangia* and a crown. The emperor notably presents himself to Arab prisoners.

a hundred pages [ghulam] wearing clothes trimmed with borders and adorned with pearls; they carry a golden case in which is the Imperial robe. . . . Then comes the Emperor wearing his festival clothes, that is, silk clothes with jewels. . . .<sup>41</sup>

Imperial wealth and power are expressed in the *loros* itself, sending a message to all foreigners who watched as the emperor processed through the streets. Just as the *loros* places the emperor among the angels in the celestial ranks, it also identifies him as supreme commander above all nations in the earthly order.

### The *Loros* and Gender

The *loros* was not only special for its status as “crown jewels,” but it is also distinct in its role as a non-gendered garment. Judging from artistic representations, Middle Byzantine imperial, ceremonial dress stands out for its being apparently worn by both the emperor and empress. This phenomenon appears only between the eighth to the twelfth centuries and is distinctly Byzantine. In the medieval world in general the Byzantine imperial couple would have been an unusual sight when compared with the normally gender distinct royalty of other states. For example, while Roger II of Sicily (r. 1130–54) wore Byzantine imperial dress in his portrait of 1194 in the Martorana church in Palermo, his wife, Queen Constance is pictured in royal clothing distinct from her husband in the *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* (Berna, Biblioteca Civica, MS 120 II, fol. 119r). Norman Queens are not depicted with their husbands in images like Roger’s portrait. In the manuscript illumination, she wears a dress with wide sleeves, ornament around the neckline, and a half moon on the chest with a crown and cloak. Clovis I, who ruled in the early sixth century, and his queen, Clotilde, provide a second Western example. On the façade of Notre Dame de Corbeil made around 1100, Clovis wears a *chlamys* over a long tunic, both with embroidered trim, and a crown. Clotilde wears a fitted dress with a knotted belt over the hips and a second plain belt at the waist. Over this she wears an open cloak, and a veil and crown on her head.<sup>42</sup> As time goes on, gender differences in Western dress increase. Western women wear dresses that become more fitted throughout the medieval period while in male fashion there develops the *doublet*, a fourteenth-century buttoned jacket,

and the fifteenth-century *houppelande*.<sup>43</sup> There is no question in Western fashion about what is male dress and what is female.

From what little can be gleaned about dress in the medieval Islamic world, gender difference is also made clear through clothing. Because many Muslims preferred not to depict images of living beings, there are few images of the caliph and his wife to consider. The caliphal garments consisted of a robe with embroidered *tiraz* bands, that by the time of the Abbasids (750–1258) was predominantly made in the proper color for each dynasty.<sup>44</sup> The so-called standing caliph coins have schematic images of caliphs typically wearing a robe and an Arab crown, known as a *kufiyah*, but it is difficult to decipher these images, which lack detail and color.<sup>45</sup> The *khil'a*, a ceremonial robe of honor given to rulers and dignitaries by the caliph from the eighth to the eleventh centuries can give us an idea of what rulers wore in Islam.<sup>46</sup> One of these robes is described in a passage where the caliph sends a *khil'a* to the Sultan Saladin (r. 1169–93): “. . .black satin with an embroidered border. . .”<sup>47</sup> An image of the ruler Mahmud of Ghazna in India donning a *khil'a* given to him by the Caliph al-Qadir (r. 991–1031) shows a full-length robe with an embroidered border and *tiraz* on the sleeves that he pulls on over a tunic that wraps at the chest (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS Or. 20, fol. 121r).<sup>48</sup>

The dress of Islamic women is even more difficult to fathom than men's. Al-Washsha in his treatise of 936, *On Elegance and Elegant People*, writes little about women's clothes merely saying that it “differ[s] from those of fashionable men.”<sup>49</sup> The majority of images of Islamic women from the eighth to twelfth centuries depict female dancers or attendants, but never portraits of wives of rulers; these palace attendants wear baggy pants or wrap around skirts with more fitted tops, such as the image of Andromeda as a dancer in the *Book of Fixed Stars* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 144, fol. 167). A greater number of women can be found depicted in later manuscripts, such as one version of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* of 1237, which contains genre scenes that include women, and can give us some idea as to what Islamic women wore. In one scene, a weaver wears a plain, long green robe with gold *tiraz*, which is similar in cut to a man's garment, despite al-Washsha's account. However, she wears a dark veil with light brown trim, likely a *mi'djar*,<sup>50</sup> an important element that distinguishes her dress from that of a man's (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS A. 5847, fol. 13v). Women were also restricted from wearing certain colors and, while not visible in illuminations, wore different undergarments.<sup>51</sup> The gender distinction between Islamic garments, unlike the garb of the Byzantine imperial couple, was apparent.

Although the Byzantine empress wore imperial insignia since the Early Byzantine period, before the ninth century the dress of the empress was easily distinguished from that of the emperor's. The early sixth-century images of Empress Theodora and Emperor Justinian (r. 527–65) in San Vitale, Ravenna serve as an early Byzantine example. Although both wear a *chlamys*, signifying their imperial stature, Theodora wears a sumptuously jeweled collar over her *chlamys* instead of a *fibula*. Justinian has an embroidered *tablion* on his *chlamys*, while Theodora's *chlamys* has a decorative border with an image of the magi. Justinian wears a short tunic; Theodora wears a long one. Their crowns and shoes also differ. While there would be no mistaking Theodora's role as empress because, at this time, the *chlamys* was reserved for men of high rank and the imperial couple; she is clearly wearing a gendered dress. Her longer tunic separates her from her male servants, who wear the *chlamys* with a short tunic. In addition, the longer *pendulia* that hang from her crown and her jeweled collar mark her dress as female.

While gender difference in imperial dress is pronounced during the Early Byzantine centuries, in the Middle Byzantine period imperial dress lacks gender distinctions. I do not mean that female dress has become androgynous, which is a separate category from male and female dress<sup>52</sup> but rather that Middle Byzantine imperial dress does not conjure up the notion of gender at all. Imperial dress from the eighth to the twelfth centuries is simply imperial, whether worn by a man or a woman.

This shift to non-gendered imperial dress can be tracked from dynasty to dynasty. In the Book of Job (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B, fol. 18) dated ca. 615–40, where Heraklios (r. 610–41) and his family are represented in imperial dress (plate 4) Heraklios, pictured on the left, wears a *chlamys* over a belted, short tunic with a heavily jeweled *diadem* on his head. Although his shoes are difficult to make out, it appears that they are soft and pointed, covering up to the ankle. The ankle boots are encrusted with pearls or stones. The three women to his left are, according to James Breckenridge,<sup>53</sup> Martina, Epiphania, and Eudoxia, Heraklios's wife, sister, and daughter, respectively. Each woman is dressed in imperial regalia, as is evident from her crown. Epiphania wears an empress's crown, jeweled all around the exterior, with *pendulia* barely discernible at the sides. All three women wear a *dalmatic*, a type of tunic that is wider than the *divetesion* and belted. Elaborately jeweled collars and girdles further decorate their *dalmatica*. As with Theodora, there is no mistaking the imperial rank of these women. Notably, imperial dress for men and women is markedly different. The body-covering, loose-fitting *dalmatica* that the ladies wear are decidedly female. Heraklios wears a short tunic and *chlamys*, reminiscent of military wear. This is particularly interesting in light of Heraklios's reign, a period dominated by military upheaval and invasion.

Even as late as the eighth century, we see that men are distinguished by dress with military overtones such as the *chlamys* or short tunic. In a solidus of 780–90, Constantine VI (r. 780–97) is shown with his mother, the unpopular, iconophile Empress Irene (r. 797–802), who acted as his regent when this coin was issued. Irene wears a *loros* while Constantine VI sports the *chlamys* held by a *fibula*.<sup>54</sup> Irene's crown is an impressive four-pointed *stemma* with *pendulia* while Constantine's crown is simpler with a cross. Irene's dress is one of the earliest examples of the *loros*, soon to become the standard Middle Byzantine imperial uniform.

Now we may contrast the dress of early Byzantine imperial couples with that of the Middle Byzantine period. A series of Middle Byzantine portraits of the emperor and empress will be used to demonstrate that the gender distinction in imperial dress of the early period nearly disappears in the middle era. The example cited at the beginning of this chapter of Eudokia and her sons (879–83), Leo and Alexander, is one of the earliest representations of non-gendered imperial dress (plate 1). Eudokia Ingerina was married to Basil I but had a lifelong affair with the emperor Michael III (r. 842–67), who was suspected of fathering her eldest child, Leo VI (r. 886–912). The mother and her sons are virtually indistinguishable from one another in this work.

Constantine Monomachos and Zoe in their portrait in Hagia Sophia also illustrate matching imperial outfits. Both wear a *loros* that pulls over the head with circular armbands and a jeweled collar over a *divetesion*. However, their crowns are different. This is an interesting difference to note because, according to Michael Psellos, Zoe scorned clothing befitting her rank and opted to wear “thin dresses.”<sup>55</sup> Zoe's is more elaborate with two rows of gemstones topped by three ornamented points while Constantine's crown is a double band of pearls with one central gemstone. His crown has only a rosette of pearls above the *pendulia* hanging at the sides. This difference in their crowns is not necessarily gender related. It may be that her more elaborate crown symbolized her blood inheritance of the throne and role as legitimizer of Constantine's imperial position.

Another subtle difference remains in their dress: Zoe wears her collar over her *loros* while Constantine's collar is only visible at the shoulders, as it is underneath his *loros*. This difference does not appear to be related to gender, as the mosaic beside the portrait of Zoe and Constantine attests. John II (r. 1118–43) and Irene both wear the collar beneath the *loros*, as Constantine does. Notably this couple also wear identical, non-gendered imperial dress. In another portrait of John II with his son, Alexios, in the gospel book at the Vatican (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ur. 2, fol. 10v) the collar is worn over the *loros* by both men, demonstrating that both men and women can wear the collar over or under the *loros*.<sup>56</sup>



A fourth example of the imperial couple dressing alike can be found on a reliquary of St. Demetrios of 1059–67.<sup>57</sup> Here Constantine Doukas (r. 1059–67), said to be so shy that he hid his hands in his clothing,<sup>58</sup> and the empress, Eudokia Makrembolitissa both wear a *loros* that pulls over the head and is finally draped over the arm after being brought around the back. Once again, there are no gender distinctions made in their clothing. Their crowns are matching with a row of gems topped by a cross in the center. Their *loroi* even have the same pattern of large square gemstones surrounded by smaller gemstones. It is interesting to note that the inscription uses the superior and rare title of *Basilissa* for Eudokia.<sup>59</sup>

One exception to non-gendered imperial clothing of the Middle Byzantine period does exist and must be explored: empresses and emperors could wear, on occasion, different styles in *loros* design. In select representations empresses belted their *loros* and pulled the lower half of it off to the side, creating a shield-like shape. Maria of Alania, a foreign beauty who married twice to protect the throne for her children, wears a prime example of the belted *loros* in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Paris, Coislin 79, fol. 1v) of ca. 1071–81 (plate 5). Her *loros* pulls over the head and falls to her ankles. The back panel of the *loros* wraps around to the front while the back panel hugs her right hip instead of being cast over the arm, as it is typically worn. We find that the *loros* is belted at the hip only by empresses.

She and Michael VII (relabelled Nikephoros III Botaneiates) wear identically patterned *loroi* and armbands over complimentary *divetesions* in this image. Their *divetesions* are navy blue with gold lozenges containing foliate designs inside, differing only slightly from each other. Her sleeves are cut with long wide openings while his balloons to a tight cuff at the wrist.<sup>60</sup> Michael wears his *loros* crossed over the chest and wrapped around the back. Although they, as other Middle Byzantine imperial couples, wear identical, non-gendered imperial dress, the belted *loros* is an exclusively female style.

It should be noted that what I am calling the belted *loros* was mistakenly thought by modern scholars to be a separate garment called the *thorakion*.<sup>61</sup> More recent scholarship has shown that this shield-like shape is clearly a continuation of the fabric of the *loros* and cannot be associated with the *thorakion*, an as yet undefined term used in *The Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>62</sup>

The belting of the *loros* by women challenges my hypothesis that for official ceremonies the Middle Byzantine emperor and empress wore clothing with no gender distinctions. I suggest, however, that no matter how it was worn, the *loros* be seen as both imperial and non-gender specific. The emperor and empress were not masquerading and attempting to hide their sex, so the Byzantine viewer probably did not see the fact that women sometimes tied their *loros* differently as significant. The way the

*loros* was worn is not mentioned in any text that I am aware of. In fact, imperial dress—whether worn by a man or woman—is always said to be similar with no mention of gender differences in imperial dress made by contemporary chroniclers. Michael Psellos describes Zoe’s elevating of her young lover, Michael VII, to the throne in this way:

Immediately she summoned Michael and dressed him in robes interwoven with gold thread. Then, placing the imperial crown on his head, she sat him down on the sumptuous throne with herself *dressed in similar garb* seated next to him. She ordered everyone who was living in the palace at this time to perform proskynesis and to acclaim them both together.<sup>63</sup>

I further wish to suggest that women may have belted their *loroi* to help support its tremendous weight. Because the *loros* was a full-length garment, made of leather and encrusted with jewels, it was undoubtedly heavy. The belt would have redistributed some of the weight from the shoulders and neck to the sturdier hips, much in the way a modern knapsack is belted around the hips while it is also supported at the shoulders. For example, Andronikos Komnenos (r. 1183–85) wanted to ride instead of walk to the shrine of Christ the Savior: “Others sneered that ‘the old man,’ exhausted by the day’s work and the weight of imperial regalia, would soil his braccæ, being unable to retain the ‘dirt of his stomach’ if he had to walk.”<sup>64</sup> Empresses with smaller frames or perhaps, pregnant empresses, could belt their *loros* to lighten their load. This would account for the belted *loros* being only a female style and for the apparent random occurrences of this style. For example, Empress Zoe is pictured with and without the belted *loros* in various portraits throughout her long career. To summarize, it seems that Middle Byzantine empresses wore clothing that was not distinguishable from that of their husbands. Never mentioned in the sources, the belting of the *loros* would appear to have been hardly significant to the Byzantine viewer.

With few exceptions the position of absolute ruler of the empire has been a traditionally male role, and thus the Middle Byzantine *loros* has been interpreted as a male garment. Empresses, when in their official regalia, dressed markedly different from other women. Most significantly, they did not wear a veil. Thus, the empress has been viewed as “power dressing,”<sup>65</sup> that is dressing like a man in a man’s world. However, a close examination of men’s dress will show that not only does the emperor dress differently from other high-ranking men, but that the imperial dress is not distinctly male.

Let us begin again in the Early Byzantine period when the emperor typically wore a *chlamys* and *fibula* over a short tunic. As our earlier example of Justinian and Theodora demonstrated, the emperor dressed similarly

to the other high-ranking men in secular positions present in the scene. Their *chlamydes*, less elaborate than Justinian's and Theodora's, distinguish them from the imperial couple; instead, the *chlamydes* are simply white with a purple *tablion* and the *fibulae* are simpler and not jewel encrusted. Nevertheless, the laymen, including Justinian, are dressed alike.

An early seventh-century mosaic of St. Demetrios with two boys in the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, shows that the *chlamys* with simple *fibula* was elegant clothing for the wealthy male outside of court suitable for portraiture.<sup>66</sup> The saint, who in his exalted status has been made to look like a citizen of wealth, wears a patterned *chlamys*. He stands with two supplicants who are children, as he is a patron saint of children. The portraits of the boys probably show them in their best clothing. It is difficult to assess whether these clothes were typical for wealthy, male children because so few images or textual mentions of children survive. We can, however, imagine that one would wear his best clothes for a portrait.

In the Middle Byzantine period, we do not find that the emperor's official clothing is at all similar to the dress of other wealthy citizens of the empire. Few other courtiers could wear the *loros*; the exception came on Easter when the Patricians, among others, donned the *loros*.<sup>67</sup> The majority of men wore robes or *chlamydes* over long tunics. For example the *protospatharios* of Cappadocia, Michael Skepides, wears a brocaded robe and caftan in his eleventh-century portrait in Karabas Kilise<sup>68</sup> (plate 6c). The donor, Nikephoros, pictured presenting his church to the Virgin in the Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou, painted in 1106, serves as another example. He wears a heavily brocaded robe and a long tunic over boots.<sup>69</sup>

The emperor himself dressed like other courtiers when not wearing the official regalia of the *loros*, *divetesion* and *stemma*. While Nikephoros III Botaneiates is already illustrated with the empress on folio 1 verso of *The Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Coislin 79, fol. 1v) wearing a *loros* and other official insignia, he is pictured with his courtiers in a second image (Coislin 79, 2r); he sits dressed like the other men of rank in the illustration in a *chlamys* and tunic (plates 3 and 5). There is still no mistaking his imperial rank; his *tzangia* and crown, and of course his larger scale, distinguish him from his courtiers. However, all except the man directly to his right, titled *protovestarios* and *protoproedros*, wear a *chlamys* over a tunic. The sumptuous brocaded fabric of the men's cloaks is equal to that of the emperor.

From this evidence, it must be concluded that the Middle Byzantine imperial dress was not like the dress of a woman or man of rank. It is, therefore, non-gendered and actually signifies the imperial office. The emperor and empress became the emperor and empress by being dressed appropriately. Even when dressing like other courtiers and not wearing the *loros*, by wearing *tzangia* or a crown they distinguished themselves as imperial.

Conversely, the emperor or empress was not recognized as such when not donning the imperial insignia. The emperor Romanos I Lekapenos, ruling from 920 to 944 while Constantine Porphyrogenetos was still in his minority, needed the imperial dress to be taken seriously:

“I think it only right that I should show upon my person some outward mark of my imperial rank and wear some article of dress that would be to all men a sign of my position.” So he was allowed to wear the “red leather shoes” of the emperor after a vote of people. After a year he said to his “princes” that people laugh at him as if he is an actor or mime because he wears bright imperial shoes with a common headdress. So they let him wear the crown.<sup>70</sup>

Similarly, Anna Dalassena, crowned empress as mother to Alexios I (r. 1081–1118) in the late eleventh century, walked into the sanctuary of Bishop Nicolas, an annex of Hagia Sophia, with other women from the court wearing veils. The caretaker had to ask who they were and where they came from, as they were unrecognizable in non-ceremonial dress.<sup>71</sup> From these examples it is clear that imperial dress was always public and was the major means for establishing identity. This is not surprising as the use of dress to signal identity is well documented throughout the medieval world; wanted posters describe criminals by clothing instead of physiognomic likeness,<sup>72</sup> emperors were unrecognizable by face alone, and imposters of all kinds used dress and insignia rather than wigs, makeup or other elements of disguise to fool their marks.<sup>73</sup>

Middle Byzantine imperial dress worn by the emperor and empress alike represents a shift from the Early Byzantine period; during the fourth to seventh centuries, the emperor and empress were easily distinguished from each other and this distinction began to fade in the eighth century. Although, in the early period, the empress sometimes wore the *chlamys*, a garment commonly worn by men, other articles of clothing such as a long tunic and the absence of a *fibula* marked her as female. The imperial dress shifts again as the empire enters the thirteenth century and becomes distinguished by gender once again. Although a complete analysis of Palaiologan dress is beyond the scope of this book, one can easily see the emperor's shift back toward the *chlamys* and other specifically male garments. The *sakkos*, a loosely belted tunic, becomes the garment of choice for men, whether imperial or not, in the Late Byzantine period. Women, including the empress, begin to wear Western styles, such as cutaway sleeves and higher, pointed crowns. Illustrating this point is a portrait of Manuel II (r. 1391–1425) and his family in the *Works of Dionysios the Aeropagite* of ca. 1403–05 (Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Works of Dionysios the Aeropagite*, fol. 2r).<sup>74</sup> Manuel and his son, crowned co-emperor, wear the *sakkos* and

*loros* with a bulbous crown worn by men in the Palaiologan period. The empress wears a Western-style crown with several points and a dress with sleeves that nearly reach the ground. Her dress, which is worn with a *loros*, is drawn in at the waist, becoming more fitted in the bodice, also a Western style.

The evolution of this non-gendered imperial dress during the Middle Byzantine period can be attributed to several factors. First, a renewed interest in imperial ceremony during this period, as evidenced by such books as *The Book of Ceremonies* and *The Kletorologion*, highlights the public role of the imperial couple. According to Michael McCormick, in the two decades following the writing of *The Book of Ceremonies* as many imperial ceremonies were performed as were carried out in the 150 years preceding Constantine VII's reign.<sup>75</sup> McCormick posits two reasons for this resurgence of interest in ceremony. First, Constantine himself says that a decline in ceremony had begun before his reign and that he wished to restore ceremonial traditions and pass them on to future rulers.<sup>76</sup> Second, two usurpers, Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes (r. 969–76) came to power soon after Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, who needed to legitimize their power. Military victory was transformed into imperial legitimacy through ceremony.

Dynastic succession was a second motivating factor in the creation of non-gendered imperial dress. Importantly, by including the empress in wearing of this official dress, she is made equal to him. The equal dress refers to their equal role in the function of procreation. The empress is necessary to create and carry on the lineage of a particular family, a role emphasized during the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties. Both the male and female represent a dynasty. Judith Herrin proposes that the discourse of dynastic succession dominates the imperial office by the seventh century, noting images of the imperial couple blessed by Christ or the Virgin as the visual manifestation of this.<sup>77</sup> All imperial images, however, and not just those where the couple is being blessed convey the idea of dynasty through their regalia. Furthermore, the imperial interest in creating a dynasty becomes more evident in the Middle Byzantine era when the path to the throne becomes more patrilineal. While the throne was not guaranteed by patrilineal succession, Middle Byzantine emperors were twice as likely to become emperor through their blood relations. In the Middle Byzantine period there are 50 percent fewer emperors who succeeded the throne through shield raising after a military victory or usurpation<sup>78</sup> (plate 7).

Two dynasties dominate the period, the Macedonian and the Komnenian. Empresses who ruled as regents for their sons strengthened these imperial lines. Six empresses acted as regents for their children, often marrying men to protect the throne for their children. Seven emperors

came to the throne by marrying a woman who had the blood tie to the throne, maintaining the dynastic line.<sup>79</sup> A few women even ruled in their own right. While women ruling the empire is rare—only Irene, Zoe, and Theodora (r. 1042) had this opportunity—in these instances there was an ideological need to make the rank irrelevant as to gender.<sup>80</sup>

Barbara Hill and Lynda Garland, among others, have also noted the increased number of powerful imperial women in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These same women donned the *loros* that matched their husbands' and fathers'. Women, such as Eudokia Makrembolitissa, served to legitimize their husbands' imperial rank while others secured the throne for their sons. The sources suggest that imperial women thereby assumed more public roles. We can see this trend beginning earlier than Hill and Garland have noted in the ninth century when the Empress Irene acted as a regent for her son, Constantine VI, after the death of her husband. From 842 to 856, Theodora, wife of the Emperor Theophilos (r. 829–42), acted as regent for her son, Michael III. As Barbara Hill points out, the public could accept the increased power of these women within certain boundaries so long as they remained in a woman's role. Hill theorizes that the widowed mother, perhaps marrying to secure the throne, and thereby protecting her children's future rank was an acceptable if not a valued role for women. We can broaden Hill's conclusions, which seem also to apply to ninth- and tenth-century women, such as Irene and Theodora. The importance of procreating a dynasty, in which women played a significant role, is emblemized by the official dress; the emperor and empress are portrayed together in a single uniform representing the empire.

A third reason for the focus on the imperial couple was the increased diplomatic contact between the Byzantine court, including the imperial couple, and its neighbors during the Middle Byzantine period. This created a need for an almost iconic symbol of Byzantine power in the Mediterranean world, which is embodied in instantly recognizable imperial insignia. Hugh Kennedy points out that from the end of the eighth century until the early tenth century, Arab–Byzantine relations were on the rise.<sup>81</sup> Numerous prisoner exchanges occurred in this period, as well as greater diplomatic contact between the Caliphate and the Byzantine court. For example, a certain Muslim, Samonas, worked in Leo VI's court eventually achieving the rank of *parakoimomenos*.<sup>82</sup> Samonas's father came to court in 908 as an ambassador from Tarsos. Basil II increased his dealings with the Rus, including the marriage alliance forged by King Vladimir and Basil's sister.<sup>83</sup> Diplomatic marriages were a more common occurrence in the Middle Byzantine period than in earlier periods, as between Theophano and Otto II in 972. An increase in betrothals between Byzantines and foreigners beginning in the eleventh century is well documented. Under the Komnenians,

marriages to foreigners became commonplace.<sup>84</sup> In addition, the emperor began to present himself directly to foreigners, who were typically diplomats or prisoners of war, in a highly formalized manner during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>85</sup>

It is in this context of increased contact between Byzantium and its neighbors that the state crafts a symbolic language of dress as a means of asserting its power and wealth. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos tells us that (at least once) the emperor wore the *loros* in front of foreigners during a prisoner exchange with the Arabs, as mentioned previously. Harun Ibn Yahya, a Muslim, visited Constantinople in the late ninth century and witnessed the emperor presenting himself to Muslim prisoners, described earlier, in his “festival clothes,” which he notes are “woven with jewels,” possibly a reference to the *loros*.<sup>86</sup>

Taking into account that the *loros* was not usually worn—only on Easter, and on occasion for ceremonies with foreigners and on Pentecost—we can assume that the Byzantines were more typically presenting the imperial couple in this dress through other means, namely images. Without a doubt, coins were the most widely circulated images during the Middle Byzantine period to represent the emperor in the *loros*. Manuscript illustrations with the emperor’s portrait may have been another means of transmission, but this is less likely.<sup>87</sup> Mosaics and frescoes representing the imperial couple would have been seen by a small number of foreigners traveling within the empire; for example, foreign diplomats participating in imperial ceremonies in the capital would surely have seen the array of *loros*-clad emperors adorning the galleries of Hagia Sophia.

Despite its limited use, the *loros* had a very public role. For those who saw the imperial insignia in real life or in art, many meanings would be understood. The emperor’s role as earthly warrior for God, like the archangel in heaven, would be conveyed through their matching *loroi*. The *loros* conveyed the wealth and power of the empire to foreigners and citizens alike through the gem-encrusted, spectacular garment. The empress’s non-gendered imperial uniform mirroring the emperor’s expressed her function as equal procreator of a dynasty. Finally, the *loros* established continuity with the traditions of the Roman Empire, especially the consulate, during the garment’s use at Easter when the emperor dispersed salaries.

### The *Chlamys*

Given the unusual stature of the *loros* as a largely symbolic garment it is helpful to ask: what was the significance of imperial garments more commonly worn? As described earlier, the emperor and empress wore crowns and *tzangia* for ceremony. Instead of the *loros*, the emperor usually wore the

*chlamys*, a cloak derived from military dress and a garment he shared with male members of his court. The word *chlamys* was used during the Hellenistic period to refer to cloaks in general. Like so many Byzantine articles of clothing, the *chlamys*' form evolved from a Roman prototype; the *chlamys* is a later version of the *paludamentum*, a short cloak worn by soldiers, hunters, and horsemen in the late Roman period. In the Early Byzantine period, *chlamys* was used specifically to describe a short or long cloak of felt worn primarily by the military. Because so many emperors were military men, by the time of Constantine I emperors began to wear a luxurious silk version of the *chlamys* for ceremonial dress as well.<sup>88</sup>

Emperors distinguished their *chlamys* from that worn by the military and courtiers who served them by the addition of an elaborately jeweled *fibula*, a large pin used to fasten the *chlamys* at the neck. The *chlamys* was often worn open over the shoulder, leaving the arm free to brandish a sword, even when used for nonmilitary ceremony. The *chlamys* could either be full- or knee-length. The garment tended to be longer for ceremonial purposes, and shorter when worn as a military garment. The *chlamys* was heavily decorated with a border of embroidery, often with metallic threads sewn in.

In addition to the *fibula*, a large, decorative rectangle called the *tablion* also distinguished the courtly *chlamys* from the military one. The emperor's *tablion* was usually made from gold thread sewn onto a white or purple *chlamys* over a *divetesion*, also made in white or purple.

Although the Middle Byzantine *loros* attained the status of "crown jewels," the *chlamys* was among the most prized imperial garments worn with any regularity. For the most important celebrations of the year, the emperor, and on occasion the empress,<sup>89</sup> wore the *chlamys* along with the *tzangia* and crown (discussed earlier). According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the emperor wore the *chlamys* during the celebrations of Hypapante, Pentecost, and Palm Sunday. In addition, the *chlamys* was worn for several parades and for the promotion of most courtiers. For example, at the promotion of a noble, the emperor, wearing a *divetesion*, *chlamys*, and crown, sits in the Hall of Nineteen Couches where the gathering takes place. The emperor quite literally wore the *chlamys* at his birth and death, as he wore it for his coronation and was dressed in one for his own funeral.<sup>90</sup>

The few descriptions that survive, of an imperial *chlamys* attest to its use for coronation. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos describes the coronation ceremony without giving much detail as to what the *chlamys* looked like. Robert of Clari, reporting on the coronation of Baldwin I in 1204, gives a vivid description of the Byzantine imperial *chlamys* used for the coronation of the new Latin emperor in Constantinople: ". . .they put on over this a very rich cloak [*chlamys*], which was all laden with rich precious



stones, and the eagles that were on its outside were made of precious stones and shone so that it seemed as if the cloak were aflame."<sup>91</sup> Although the large-sized eagle silks that survive today are likely to have been used as wall hangings, one can imagine a coronation *chlamys* with silk fabric and a gold and purple eagle pattern much like the eagle silk from Auxerre.<sup>92</sup> While there are Western elements described in this coronation ceremony, Michael Hendy points out that the clothing was clearly pulled directly from the *vestiarion* at the Blachernae Palace for use during Baldwin's coronation.<sup>93</sup>

Images of the emperor in his *chlamys* augment the picture painted by Clari. The mosaic of a penitent emperor in Hagia Sophia, possibly Leo VI,<sup>94</sup> shows him wearing a *chlamys* in white silk with gold thread creating a lozenge pattern. The garment's borders visible near the shoulder appear to be heavily embroidered and fastened together with a gold and pearl *fibula*. Alexios I wears a *chlamys*, pulled forward over his hands in supplication, in the *Dogmatic Panoply* frontispiece (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 666, fol. 2r) where he is shown receiving doctrine from the church fathers (plate 8). His *chlamys* has a gold foliate pattern woven into a saturated blue garment, which he wears over a *divetesion* of the same fabric. On the following page, Alexios wears the *loros* as he is shown presenting his book to Christ. The *loros* here likens Alexios to an archangel, a warrior of Christ, while the *chlamys* shows him as an emperor at court symbolically receiving the church fathers.

The *chlamys* was the garment of choice for both receptions of visitors and other court activities. Psellos's anecdote about Basil II's resistance to imperial garments suggests that the *chlamys* was the standard for any emperor during the daily business of court:

The emperor of emperors and empresses scorned multi-colored [clothes] and did not succumb [to wearing] unnecessary ornament. . . he was contemptuous and wore neither decorative collars on his neck, nor tiaras on his head, but only chlamydes bordered in purple, and not very bright at that.<sup>95</sup>

Whether or not Basil II really did wear modest clothing is difficult to tell as Psellos uses this trope to express Basil's virtue. Nevertheless, the passage demonstrates that for processions and for the reception of courtiers, the normal dress for an emperor was a *chlamys* of bright purple over a tunic of many bright colors.

Many images of foreign rulers illustrate that the emperor wore the *chlamys* for international audiences thereby transmitting the style to foreign lands. Boris of Bulgaria as seen in his twelfth-century portrait from the *Lectionary of Constantine of Bulgaria* stands in a pearl-bordered *chlamys* (Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS 262). The Bulgarian scholar,

John the Deacon, described the ruler of Preslav in the late ninth and early tenth centuries as being enviably dressed in “pearl-studded garment[s]” and carrying a gold sword.<sup>96</sup> In an ivory from the Musée Cluny, Paris, Otto II dons a *chlamys* while his Byzantine wife Theophano is shown in a *loros*, in keeping with Byzantine *imagery* rather than practice.<sup>97</sup> Several Georgian and Armenian rulers are depicted in the *chlamys* in imitation of their Byzantine counterparts. For example, the Georgian rulers Davit III (d. 1000) (plate 9) and Bagrat (d. 966) wore the *chlamys* on the façade of Oski between 963 and 966.<sup>98</sup>

A brief look at the history of the *chlamys* will illuminate its ubiquitous role in the imperial wardrobe. In the Early Byzantine period, the *chlamys* was worn at court connoting military power. This garment was a vestige from the Roman Empire used by Byzantine emperors and courtiers with its military history in mind. Many emperors attained power through the military, so it was only natural to wear a military garment for imperial imagery on coins and in other art. The porphyry statue of Constantine’s sons, which once stood in the Philadelphion in Constantinople, shows each caesar in full military dress: a *cuirass* under a *chlamys* accompanied by a sword. By the sixth century, this dress had changed little. The Barberini Ivory showing the Emperor Justinian in military triumph depicts him on a horse in a *cuirass* and *chlamys*.<sup>99</sup>

The Early Byzantine emperors used the *chlamys* for nonmilitary type images as well, foreshadowing its eventual transformation into ceremonial dress. For example, Theodosios I is shown in a *chlamys* on the base of the Theodosian column sitting in the *kathisma* of the hippodrome enjoying the festivities. The majority of Early Byzantine coins show the emperor wearing a *chlamys* as well.

While imperial dress in the Middle Byzantine period shifts away from its earlier military character, a few images remain that highlight the emperor as a military man but these are not the norm. Basil II wears a *chlamys* slung back over both shoulders over an impressive gold cuirass in his portrait trampling his Bulgarian enemies in the Psalter of Basil II<sup>100</sup> (Venice, Marciana Library, MS Z 17, fol. 111) (plate 10). Some emperors don the *chlamys* on their coins, diverting from the standard *loros*; this choice was likely made to show their military prowess. Isaac I, for example, who won the throne by military force, minted his coins with a portrait in the *chlamys* brandishing a sword.<sup>101</sup>

More typically, however, we see the *chlamys* worn with no military reference whatsoever, as with the example of Alexios I, discussed earlier (plate 8). In addition, Nikephoros III Botaneiates wears the *chlamys* in two images, one with his courtiers (plate 3) and one with the monk Sabas (Coislin 79, fols. 2r and 1r). Neither of these images warranted the wearing of the *loros*

because Nikephoros is already pictured with Maria of Alania on the manuscript's frontispiece, discussed earlier. As with the image of Alexios I, these images depict symbolic courtly meetings between Nikephoros and Sabas and his courtiers; thus a *chlamys* is appropriate attire. The *chlamys* worn by these and other Middle Byzantine emperors is an opulent garment that has come a long way from the Roman battlefield.

Michael Hendy, among others, has described the *chlamys* as the Byzantine imperial garment par excellence.<sup>102</sup> However, both texts and surviving images suggest that while the *chlamys* was proper dress wear appropriate for many occasions, such as parades and coronations, it cannot be described as the preeminent imperial garment. All at court, not simply the emperor, wore the *chlamys*, which diluted its status as an imperial garment. In addition the *chlamys* was worn widely outside of court. Rather, I posit that the *chlamys* was analogous to the modern day business suit. The president of the United States is inaugurated wearing a suit; yet despite the importance of this ceremony, nearly every member of congress (even the female members) wears a similar suit everyday to work, just as a majority of professionals do.

Returning to the image of Nikephoros III Botaneiates with his courtiers in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, we find that Nikephoros as well as his courtiers wears a *chlamys* (plate 3). He is enthroned wearing a rich blue *chlamys* with gold spades surrounded by pearls. A gold border with pearls and a large gold, embroidered *tablion* mark the emperor's *chlamys* as only slightly more expensive than those worn by his courtiers. Three of his courtiers wear red *chlamydes* with gold spades (they wear theirs closed rather than flung over the shoulder as Botaneiates does). However, their *chlamydes* lack pearls and their *tablions* are slightly smaller than the emperor's. Because the emperor's *chlamys* nearly equals that of his courtiers, we must assume that the *chlamys* itself did not signify imperial status. In this image, it is the crown and *tzangia* that distinguish Nikephoros III from his courtiers with respect to clothing; this is accentuated by his large scale and enthronement.

By all written accounts, courtiers of all levels regularly wore the *chlamys*, confirming its non-imperial status. According to *The Kletorologion*, the *noblissimos*, *curopalates*, generals, senators, the Blues and the Greens, patricians, magistrates, *anthypatoi*, and the domestic of schools all wear the *chlamys* for various celebrations. The form of the *chlamys* is never described; only the color for each rank is prescribed. *The Book of Ceremonies* supports the notion of the *chlamys* as a ubiquitous garment. For example, on the Tuesday of Easter, the day of St. Sergius, all of the dignitaries arrive at the *tricladium* of Justinian wearing a white *chlamys*. "All the dignitaries arrive in white *chlamydes*. . ." <sup>103</sup> On the days that follow, the courtiers appear for each day's celebrations, again, wearing a *chlamys*.

Because the *chlamys* is not exclusively imperial and because it held no symbolic cache linking it to the person of the emperor or the state itself, it appears less frequently in Middle Byzantine imagery. Yet it was worn regularly. This begs the question: where did its prominence come from? The importance of the *chlamys* in the Middle Byzantine period stems from its use as a military garment, which was taken up as the garment for business, that is, the business of the court.

This transition from a primarily military garment to a business suit of sorts occurs because of a shift in the roles played at court itself. In the Early Byzantine period, the majority of the court, including the emperor, wielded actual military power. By the Middle Byzantine period, however, the military role of court members was typically symbolic, held in title alone. Mark Whittow, using the example of the *spatharios* and *protospatharios*, states that beginning in the seventh century titles become more honorific than actual.<sup>104</sup> The *spatharoi*, which literally means “sword-bearers,” were guards of the palace and the emperor. By the eighth century, this title had become purely symbolic with no guard duties involved in the office; and by the tenth century dozens of men held these titles at court “with no military potential whatsoever.”<sup>105</sup> Alexander Kazhdan points to a transition from a military court to a civilian court in his discussion of the rise of the Byzantine aristocracy in the Middle Byzantine period. He characterizes Leo VI’s feelings, for example, as suspicious of the abilities of the new aristocracy when compared to those of military men.<sup>106</sup>

The often-cited adherence to tradition by the Byzantines meant that while the duties of courtiers and the meanings of their ranks could shift over time, court ceremony and ceremonial dress did not.<sup>107</sup> In *The Kletorologion*, the dignitaries closest to the emperor sat at his table while he entertained foreign emissaries. These courtiers wore the *chlamys* and *kampagia*, sandals originally associated with the military, which by this time were also worn at court. For example during one of these banquets the emperor includes at his table, “twelve friends, who form a line like twelve apostles next to the emperor, put on their own chlamydes and before that their own kampagia underneath.”<sup>108</sup> It is important to note, however, that in general the dignitaries who dined with the emperor held no military offices.<sup>109</sup>

By the Middle Byzantine period, women wore the *chlamys* on occasion, which not only reinforces the role of the *chlamys* as a non-imperial business suit not exclusive to court, but also further highlights its new role as a civilian cloak. The Empress Theodora wore a *chlamys* in the sixth century to signify her imperial rank alongside her husband, who still wore his for its military connotations. However, Anna Dalassene (ca. 1025–1100/2) is described by Nikephoros Bryennios, writing sometime after 1118, as wearing

a *chlamys* at her trial. In a dramatic scene before several judges, she produces an icon of Christ from underneath her *chlamys* declaring that no earthly magistrate could judge her, only Christ could.<sup>110</sup> In the *vita* of St. Mary the Younger, the saint asks that her debts be paid at her death by the sale of her *chlamys*.<sup>111</sup> This suggests not only that women outside of court owned *chlamydes*, but also that they were of substantial value. Irene Gabras, an aristocrat of the Trebizond region, wears a *chlamys* in a miniature of 1067 (St. Petersburg, Gospel Book Leaves, MS 291, fol. 3r).<sup>112</sup>

The *chlamys* can be categorized as ceremonial dress, for it was worn for even the most important court occasions such as coronation. It can also be classified as business wear, as imperial ceremony was intertwined with the business of court. In other words the reception of diplomats, military victories, promotions, and so on were not only the primary business functions of the court but were also the primary court ceremonies. Yet, despite its constant use by the emperor, the *chlamys* cannot be accurately termed imperial. The use of the *chlamys* by members of court, as well as men and women outside of court, attests to its non-imperial status.

### Conclusion

The only truly imperial clothing therefore, is the *loros*, *tzangia*, and crown. This dress is mostly symbolic in nature, representing the wealth of the empire. The imperial garments, particularly the *loros*, fits into the paradigm of the sophisticated appropriation of tradition for didactic purposes, in this case sending a clear message about Byzantine power and stability; the traditional *loros* of the Roman consuls, however, mutated to be worn by the empress as well as the emperor and to adapt to its new Christian context.

Due to the large number of surviving imperial portraits relative to non-imperial Middle Byzantine portraits, one is tempted to call every garment worn in such images “imperial.” However, the body of dress that can be called imperial is quite small. On a daily basis, the emperor and empress wore the same dress as the members of their court, business attire that we also see worn by all citizens of a certain class. One must imagine that the emperor and empress most often wore the *chlamys* and only on special occasions wore their imperial garb.

## CHAPTER 2

### COURT DRESS

While male courtiers and eunuchs typically wore the *chlamys* for ceremony, many other garments are mentioned in the Byzantine sources that prescribe what garments courtiers should wear for specific events, or what garments are awarded to them as part of their salaries. *The Book of Ceremonies*, the *Kletorologion*, and several histories record the names of many such garments, the majority of which are either tunics or cloaks. With several exceptions these terms can usually be defined, but the terms cannot give us more than a vague image of each garment. Many terms, such as *skaramangion*, have even been misidentified by scholars and subsequently used incorrectly in modern literature. The problem of terminology is aggravated by the fact that few portraits of Middle Byzantine courtiers exist, leaving us with no visual record of these garments. The case of women at court, who were typically the wives of courtiers and female relatives of the imperial couple, is even worse as they are hardly mentioned in the sources and only one manuscript with portraits of court women survives<sup>1</sup> (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 1851, fols. 6 and 3v) (plate 12).

Several attempts to define clothing terms provide the stepping-stones for the present study. Ioannis Spatharakis included a glossary of select terms in his work on Byzantine portraits.<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth Piltz recorded many of the clothing terms used in *The Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>3</sup> A new study by Maria Parani contains an excellent glossary; however, Parani deals primarily with Late Byzantine material when terminology may have signified different types of garments. Nancy Sevckenko and Alexander Kazhdan, in the most comprehensive effort made thus far, trace the history of and define many garments in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.<sup>4</sup> While dictionaries such as the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* are usually starting points for further research, in many cases the entries by Sevckenko and Kazhdan are the only scholarly sources on a particular term. Perhaps no complete glossary has

been attempted because so many terms are vague or, worse, not definable at all because they lack any accompanying description. Some garment terms nonetheless can be elucidated more precisely. Because the majority of Byzantine clothing terms are used in descriptions of Byzantine court practices, any discussion of terms is inextricably linked to an examination of court dress. What follows is a discussion of court dress and the terms associated with that dress.

### Images of Courtiers

In addition to terminology, the surviving images of courtiers can yield more information about dress providing a clearer picture of the Middle Byzantine courtier. Portraits of courtiers are rare; the majority of Byzantine portraits are either imperial or donor portraits. The donor portraits of courtiers, however, generally picture men whose titles indicate that they were not part of the daily life of the Byzantine court in Constantinople. For example, Michael Skepides pictured on the walls of Karabas Kilise (plate 6c) in Cappadocia had the honorary title of *protospatharios*, meaning that he had an administrative post in the provinces. Theodore Gabras, pictured in a eleventh-century manuscript from the region (St. Petersburg, Gospel Book Leaves, MS 291, fol. 2v), had employment far from the capital as a governor of Trebizond (plate 6d). While they may have visited Constantinople, the culture in which they lived—the culture that would have influenced their clothing—was a borderland culture, which will be discussed in chapter 3.

Hundreds of images of Middle Byzantine courtiers are found in the historical scenes in the *Chronicle of John Skylitzes*. These are also problematic, however, for several reasons. First, they are not intended to be portraits of individual people, in the way that a donor's portrait is.<sup>5</sup> The Madrid Skylitzes is specifically troublesome because of its Western origin, an influence that colors the armor, weaponry, and imperial imagery at least.<sup>6</sup> Some inaccuracies in dress show a basic lack of knowledge on the part of the illuminators. For example, Michael I (r. 811–13) crowns Leo V (r. 813–20) co-emperor in what is meant to be a coronation scene (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vitr. 26–2, fol. 10v). Yet, both wear a *loros*, which was not appropriate for coronation. The illuminator portrays a coronation correctly with the patriarch crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos in a tunic, after which he will don a *chlamys* (fol. 114vb).

In the final analysis we are left with only six images of male courtiers and three images of female courtiers: Nikephoros III Botaneiates and his courtiers in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Coislin 79, fol. 2r) (plate 3); two images in the Leo Bible<sup>7</sup> (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

MS Gr. 1, fols. 2v and 3r), one of Leo Sakellarios (plate 13) and the other of Leo's brother, Constantine, the *protospatharios*; an unnamed courtier in supplication to the Virgin in the Lavra Lectionary (Mount Athos, Great Lavra Monastery, MS A 103, fol. 3v);<sup>8</sup> another unnamed man, possibly a eunuch in the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, MS 61, fol. 1v); two images from Vatican marriage story showing a foreign envoy and the emperor (Vat. Gr. 1851, fols. 6 and 2v) (plate 12); and a *protospatharios* named Basil pictured with his wife at the feet of Christ (Mount Athos, Kutlumusiu Monastery, MS 60, fol. 1v).<sup>9</sup> Vatican Gr. 1851, telling the story of a foreign bride's marriage to a Byzantine emperor, while not strictly containing portraits is included in the discussion of courtiers because it contains, what I would argue, is an accurate glimpse of the Constantinopolitan court under Alexios II Komnenos (r. 1180–83). Cecily Hilsdale convincingly demonstrates that Vatican 1851 is a twelfth-century manuscript depicting a foreign princess arriving in Constantinople for her marriage and proposes that this text was sent to Anna-Agnes of France in advance of her arrival as a way of guiding her in the impending ceremonies and thus are not strictly portraits.<sup>10</sup> However, I think these figures can be relied on as the images are contemporary with the written text and because the manuscript was intended to describe the series of ceremonies associated with the arrival and marriage of a foreign bride accurately. Again, some of these images present problems of origin; they may not all represent courtiers working directly for the emperor in Constantinople, as the existence of nobility holding court titles far outside of the capital suggests. Apart from dedicatory images of figures with court titles tied to a specific geographic area outside of Constantinople, which I have left for chapter 3, images of courtiers are addressed here. These images in combination with a careful study of Middle Byzantine secular clothing terminology can highlight some trends in Middle Byzantine court dress and offer greater precision about meanings conveyed by these garments.

### Dress Terminology

*The Homilies of John Chrysostom*, discussed in chapter 1, presents the most well-known portraits of courtiers (plate 3). These courtiers wear the *chlamys* (discussed earlier) over a long silk tunic except for the chief of wardrobe, to the emperor's right. He wears a long garment that opens at the center, with a black collar and small hat. It is not possible to tell from this image whether he also wears an under-tunic. His outer garment is a caftan, as I will call it, a combination of a tunic and robe. Like a tunic, it seems to be his primary garment and is meant for indoor wear as opposed to an indoor/outdoor cloak, such as the *chlamys* his fellow courtiers wear



over their tunics. Like a robe, it opens in the front, and can be worn over another garment. The problem here, and with the few other images of court garb that we have, is finding the Greek term to use for this garment.

### *Tunics*

Middle Byzantine sources use at least nine terms for tunic: *chiton*, *himation*, *sticharion*, *kondomanikion*, *divetesion*, *kamision*, *sabanion*, *kolobion*, *abdia*. Three other terms that may also refer to tunics: *pelonion*, *paragaudion*, and *spekion*. Elisabeth Piltz has outlined some of these terms in her work on imperial costumes in *Byzantine Court Culture*.<sup>11</sup> In order to clarify what kind of garment these words might signify further study is needed.

By looking at the uses of these words together with the images, more can be gleaned from these mentions of courtiers in the Byzantine sources. To start with the various types of tunic, the *divetesion* is always described as silk and long. The most important courtiers and the emperor wore it. Other tunics are difficult to distinguish from the *divetesion* but Byzantine writers use the word *chiton* to refer to tunics worn by mid-ranking courtiers. In the *Kletorologion*, we find that courtiers who rank eighth and lower on the lists for various occasions typically wear the *chiton*.<sup>12</sup> The term, however, is rarely used in *The Book of Ceremonies* where Constantine VII opts for specific clothing terms suggesting that *chiton* may be a generic term for tunic. Returning to the courtiers in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, we can imagine that all except the courtier in the caftan wear *divetesions*, as their ranks, inscribed next to each figure, suggest they are above wearing the *chiton*.

*Himation* and *sticharion*, like *chiton*, are general words for tunics. These words are often used interchangeably with other words for tunics, suggesting that their meanings are general, similar to the words “shirt” and “pants,” rather than meaning something specific like “Oxford” or “khakis.” *Sticharion*, also a term used for an ecclesiastical long tunic worn by deacons that sometimes had stripes,<sup>13</sup> may have denoted a striped tunic. All of these words are also commonly found in *vitas*, suggesting that they can refer to any type of tunic at or outside of court.

Contrary to the tunics just mentioned, the *kondomanikion* or *kontomanikion*, can be easily distinguished from other tunics. *Kondomanikion* is a term for a short-sleeved tunic, as the term suggests (*konto* meaning short, and *manikion* meaning sleeves). This garment is worn in the *Kletorologion* during dancing. “The others, *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, *patricians*, and emperor’s men wear the *thorakion* and *kondomanikia* while they do the table dance.”<sup>14</sup> The few images of dancing men that survive show the dancers in short-sleeved tunics, which one can suppose to be the *kondomanikion*. A Vatican

Psalter has several images of dancers such as one where a male dancer wears a red *kondomanikion*, with a gold border (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 752, fol. 449r).

A *kolobion* is another easily identified tunic that is distinct for being sleeveless. *Kolobos* is a Greek term meaning “docked or curtailed,”<sup>15</sup> as the sleeves were on this garment.<sup>16</sup> Descriptions of the decorative roundels on the *kolobion* of the emperor in *The Book of Ceremonies* led Piltz to characterize the garment as imperial and long sleeved.<sup>17</sup> Although in *The Book of Ceremonies* the emperor wears it for the grape harvest and Easter Monday ceremonies, it is worn by courtiers and those outside of court in other texts and should not be viewed as an imperial garment. Indeed the garment was common enough to be put on the iconophile Patriarch Constantine during his punishment in the hippodrome. “They shaved his face plucked his beard, the hair of his head, and of his eyebrows and, after putting on him a short sleeveless garment of silk, seated him backwards on a saddled ass and made him hold its tail. . .”<sup>18</sup> The *kolobion* may be the sleeveless over-tunic worn by an unnamed courtier in the *Praxapostolos* (Mount Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, MS Gr. 283, fol. 107v) before St. Paul.<sup>19</sup> The figure on the right appears to show the sleeve of his under-tunic, of a different color than his *kolobion* worn on top. Sevchenko notes that the *kolobion* was primarily a monastic garment, another non-imperial use of the garment.<sup>20</sup> Piltz’s description of the *kolobion* as long-sleeved is erroneous as well. There is no indication that the garment had sleeves and the etymology of the word itself strongly supports this. Tim Dawson has pointed out that *dalmatic* and *colobium* are sometimes interchangeable, prompting him to state that the garment had sleeves by the Middle period; however, his evidence refers to an ecclesiastical garment, which as with the word *sticharion* can mean something different from the lay garment.<sup>21</sup> The ninth-century Khludov Psalter depicts Christ in a *kolobion* in a crucifixion scene (Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS 129d, fol. 67r), which is a metaphor for the destruction of icons. This sleeveless garment, which could be either an outer garment or an indoor tunic, represents a *kolobion*. The garment seems to transcend class distinctions as it is shown on an ordinary man lying beneath a tree in *De Mateira Medica* (Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS Gr. 2179, fol. 5r).<sup>22</sup> The literary record further supports that the garment was fairly common. The *Vita* of Elias Speliotes, written between 960 and 1000, likens a *kolobion* to a *himation*, a general word for a tunic: “. . .he put on his himation of red/copper color, a man’s kolobion, and put under his feet, sandals.”<sup>23</sup>

Other terms used by Byzantine writers are less clear. A *kamision* is defined in Sophocles’s lexicon as an outer garment, yet the two instances of the word in the *Kletorologion* contradict this definition.<sup>24</sup> For example, the

first eunuch is recorded as wearing a linen *kamision* hardly suitable for an outer garment and rather could be an undergarment. The *cubicularios* wears a *kamision* decorated with *blattia* and a *paragaudion*.<sup>25</sup> Nothing suggests that one garment went over the other, but a *kamision* could be an undergarment with its decoration peeking out from beneath the *paragaudion* in this case. McCormick defines *kamisia* as tunics when interpreting a passage in *On Imperial Expeditions* describing Basil I's veneration of a shrine at the Virgin of the Abraamites.<sup>26</sup> However, this event involves the courtiers wearing the *kamision* on the *Mese* during a parade, which could be interpreted as an outer garment. A *kamision* is worn with a *pelonion*, by the eparch at his promotion<sup>27</sup>; *pelonion* is also undefined, making it impossible to tell in this instance whether or not the *kamision* is an outer garment, an undergarment, or a tunic. *Kamision* may refer to different garments, as our word jacket can refer both to a men's sportcoat (indoor) and a lightweight, short coat (outdoor).

Finally, the terms *paragaudion*, *abdia*, *sabanion*, and *spekia* are indeterminate. *Paragaudion*, used in the *Kletorologion*, is referred to so vaguely as to be undefinable.<sup>28</sup> The Latin term *paragaudion* is defined as a bordered garment, which is how Oikonomides defines the word as well, or as the border itself.<sup>29</sup> John Malalas clearly uses the term to describe a tunic, although without much detail to distinguish it from the other tunics discussed, in his description of the emperor of Laz:

He had been crowned by Justin. . .and had put on a Roman imperial crown and a white cloak of pure silk. Instead of the purple border it had the gold imperial border; in the middle was a true purple portrait medallion with a likeness of the emperor Justin. He also wore a white tunic, a *paragaudion*, with gold imperial embroideries, equally including the likeness of the emperor. The shoes that he wore he had brought from his own country, and they were studded with pearls in Persian fashion. Likewise his belt was decorated with pearls.<sup>30</sup>

Sophocles defines it only as a garment.<sup>31</sup>

An *abdia* is possibly a Slavic garment made of silk, according to Vogt.<sup>32</sup> He also proposes that it could be a linen garment related to the Arabic word *abayah*. This word is not found in other Byzantine sources or Greek lexicons, suggesting that it may be a foreign word transliterated into Greek. Its use in *The Book of Ceremonies* at the very least suggests that it is a tunic of some sort worn by demarchs.<sup>33</sup>

*Spekion* is a commonly used word in both *The Book of Ceremonies* and the *Kletorologion*, and yet it too remains unclear. Oikonomidès, the translator of the *Kletorologion* supposes the garment to be a tunic.<sup>34</sup> In the *Kletorologion*,

the garment is worn to dinner as well as for processions inside the palace; however, the *Book of Ceremonies* gives a different story. The dignitaries arrive for a procession to the Church of St. Mokios during Mesopentecost, wearing parade clothes that include the *spekion*. Here the word may imply an outer garment because it was worn outdoors for a parade;<sup>35</sup> however, the weather may not have required outerwear. A *sabanion* is possibly a tunic, according to Elisabeth Piltz; it is worn by *protospatharian* eunuchs during Middle Pentecost and in the Great Phiales.<sup>36</sup> Other references to the garment, however, suggest that it could be a completely different type of garment.<sup>37</sup>

Returning to our courtier dressed in a caftan in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, we are still unable to name his garment. An examination of outer cloaks, makes this task even more difficult, as none of these terms describe this courtier's garment either.

### **Cloaks**

The Byzantine sources make use of three words that scholars agree refer to outer garments or cloaks: *chlamys*, *skaramangion*, and *sagion*. Besides the ubiquitous *chlamys*, most courtiers wear the *sagion*. Elisabeth Piltz identifies this garment as an over-tunic, when it should be viewed as a cloak, akin to the *chlamys*.<sup>38</sup> In the *Kletorologion*, it is always worn with another garment, typically a tunic, and can be fastened unlike a tunic.<sup>39</sup> When the emperor wears the *sagion* to dinner with the patriarch, he removes his *sagion* before dinner and puts it on again when he leaves.<sup>40</sup> Not only would it be cumbersome to pull a long tunic over one's head before dinner, but there would also be no reason to do so. A more sensible theory is that the emperor simply unfastened and removed a cloak that would be too warm and bulky to wear at the dinner table.

The final term, *skaramangion*, has been described by N.P. Kondakov and several others as a riding outfit that had its origins in Persia.<sup>41</sup> However, a close examination of this term shows that it describes many different types of garments and fabric, and not simply a riding cloak. For example, during a parade for Mesopentecost, the emperor wears a blue *skaramangion* with gold bands, which could refer to a riding jacket as Kondakov proposes. But, later the emperor and other courtiers change into the *sagion* to ride horses, suggesting that the *skaramangion* is not a riding outfit.<sup>42</sup> At a banquet for foreign company, all the court officials wear *skaramangia* except the *topoteretes* who additionally wears the *sagion* because of his higher rank.<sup>43</sup> This passage suggests that the *skaramangia* went under the *sagion*, and therefore was a tunic of some sort rather than a heavy coat, as Kondakov purports.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the most famous mention of *skaramangia*, comes from

Liutprand of Cremona, when he describes the payment of dignitaries by the emperor.

In the week before the Feast of Baiophoron, which we call the Feast of Palms, the Emperor makes a distribution of gold nomismata to the military, and to various officials, each receiving a sum appropriate to his office. . . The first of these officials is termed the rector domus. . . , and his nomismata together with four skaramangia were placed not in his hands but upon his shoulders. Next were the officials termed the domestic of the scholai and the droungarios of the ploimon, the one of whom commands the military, the other the navy. These, because they were of equal dignity, received an equal number of nomismata and skaramangia which, on account of their bulk, they were unable to carry off even upon their shoulders, but dragged off behind them with the aid of others. After these there were admitted the magistroi, to the number of twenty-four, who each received the number of pounds of gold equal to their total of twenty-four, together with two skaramangia. Then after these followed the order of patrikoi, and they were given twelve pounds of nomismata together with a single skaramangion.<sup>45</sup>

This passage implies that *skaramangia* are not garments, but rather heavy fabric. It is doubtful that a garment (or even four), which one is expected to wear while riding a horse would have been so heavy that it had to be carried off on one's shoulders or dragged behind. However, we can imagine this scenario for heavy bolts of fabric. A monastic typikon of 1077 includes in its inventory, "Another cloth for the holy table made of skaramangion."<sup>46</sup> In this case *skaramangion* is clearly a type of material rather than a garment. The word *skaramangion* evidently was used to describe different things—a tunic, fabric, and possibly, a riding cloak.

An examination of the word *skaramangion* reveals that the term is toponymic, as many textile terms are. *Skaramangion* literally means "from Kirman," a region southwest of the Dasht-I Lut desert in Persia.<sup>47</sup> An apt modern parallel can be found in the word "jeans," meaning literally "from Genoa," which originally signified denim fabric or denim garments from Genoa. It is not related, as Kondakov proposed to the word *skaranikon*, which is a riding caftan.<sup>48</sup> Kirman was a center for textile production that traded its wares on long distance trade routes. Wool, cotton, and silk were produced in Kirman. In addition, indigo, the plant responsible for the most brilliant of blue dyes was a major crop in Kirman. A royal workshop for *tiraz*, the Arabic word for embroidery, was located in Kirman.<sup>49</sup> The garments described in the Byzantine sources as *skaramangia*, therefore, must have been heavily embroidered garments of any type, rather than a specific garment. Viewing the *skaramangion* as either thickly embroidered garments or fabric is compatible with the various ways in which the word is used.

The altar cloth in the Attaleiates inventory was probably embroidered as well. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, Philotheos, and others evidently used the term *skaramangion* as a way of bragging, much in the way that one refers to wearing a mink, which could be a coat, stole, muff, or hat. The region carried such cache, that the toponym was used by Byzantine writers to impress their readers, just as fashionistas today use the toponymic terms cashmere (Kashmir) and Pashmina.

### *Insignia*

Terms used to describe insignia can help one to imagine the complete courtly ensemble. *Blattia*, pieces of purple fabric, *tablia*, embroidered trapezoids of fabric, *fibulae*, brooches used to secure garments at the shoulder, and *baltadin*, belts of precious stones, were worn with tunics and cloaks as marks of rank. One eunuch is recorded as wearing a linen *kamision* with a *blattion* “in the shape of a basin” attached.<sup>50</sup> One can imagine a circular, purple ornament sewn onto the tunic, which may have been undyed as its color was not mentioned. Another eunuch, the *cubicularios*, also wears a *kamision* but has *blattia* “decorated all around,” perhaps meaning that the garment was bordered in purple and was again probably mostly white.<sup>51</sup> An example of a *baltadin* peeks out from the folds of Nikephoros III Botaneiates’s garment in another image of him with John Chrysostom from *The Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Coislin 79, fol. 2v). A few gemstones sparkle on a thin belt that cinches his enormous *divetesion* at the waist.<sup>52</sup> While his belt may be richer than that of a courtier, this image certainly suggests what a courtier’s belt might have looked like. These accessories, now lost to us in images, augmented the seemingly repetitive tunic and cloak ensemble and served to mark each courtier by his rank.

Many *fibula* survive and they are common in images; Nikephoros and his courtiers wear them, as does Leo Sakellarios (plates 3 and 13). But none of the surviving examples can be said to belong to a member of court and we cannot guess as to how a *fibula* used for insignia may have looked. Throughout his text, Philotheos calls certain cloaks *fiblatorions* (cloaks with *fibula*) but does not describe the *fibulae* specifically. They are not singled out in *The Book of Ceremonies* at all. Because they served a functional purpose, most people would have needed to wear one; their role as insignia may have been lessened as a result.

Insignia also include headgear, discussed later, as well as items carried rather than worn. Swords, codices, whips, kerchiefs, and batons are often mentioned in *the Kletorologion* and *The Book of Ceremonies*, with batons being the most common. Like weapons, the baton might be rooted in a military tradition, as those who receive them often have military titles.<sup>53</sup>

But, there is no pattern by which to judge as we find *ostiaría* (eunuchs who announce guests), for example, holding batons as well. *Insignia*, like each cloak and tunic, alone do not define any office but rather work in combination with other garments and accessories to signify a particular rank.

### *Headgear*

Hats were another facet of courtly dress and were likely used to distinguish rank. In the case of hats, modern scholars are left with a contradiction in the sources that suggests at the same time that hats were common and they that were not worn at all. Byzantine writers rarely describe hats and we are left with few terms. Niketas Choniates (1155/7–1217) is one of the few writers to ever mention a hat, worn in this case by Andronikos Komnenos in the twelfth century:

Andronikos Komnenus, for instance, wore a slit mauve costume sewn of Georgian fabric that came down to his knees and covered only his upper arms; he had a smoke-colored hat in the shape of a pyramid.

He goes on to say that he was

not arrayed in golden imperial vestments, but in the guise of a much-toiling laborer, dressed in a dark, parted cloak that reached down to his buttocks, and having his feet shod in knee-high white boots.<sup>54</sup>

Here, Choniates may not even be describing a hat typically worn at court, but rather one that was part of the “guise of a laborer.” The majority of hats shown in images, such as the white skullcaps worn by the courtiers to Nikephoros’s right, and the red floppy tasseled hats worn by the courtiers to his left in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, are never described by writers (plate 3). This has led scholars to conclude that hats were not worn until the eleventh century, when hats appear in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, on the donor in the Lavra Lectionary (Athos Lavra, MS A 103 fol. 3v) and in the Vatican Psalter (Vat. Gr. 752).<sup>55</sup> However, literary, pictorial, and archaeological evidence suggests that hats were an important part of the Byzantine wardrobe before the eleventh century, and that courtiers likely wore hats earlier than has been assumed.

Philotheos, writing in the *Kletorologion* mentions that several courtiers wear *korniklia* with their crowns, which is a derivative of the Latin word *corniculum*, meaning horn-shaped helmet.<sup>56</sup> No images of hats can be confidently paired with this term, but it points to the wearing of hats at court as early as the ninth century.

While Byzantine writers do not take much notice of hats, Liutprand of Cremona did on one of his visits to Constantinople in the tenth century. While riding with the Emperor Nikephoros, he was stopped for wearing a hat before the emperor when he is supposed to be wearing a headscarf. Liutprand replied:

Women with us wear bonnets and hoods when they are out riding, men wear hats. You have no right to compel me to change the custom of my country here, seeing that we allow your envoys when they come to us to keep to their ways. They wear long sleeves, bands, brooches, flowing hair, and tunics down to their heels, both when they ride or walk or sit a table with us; and what to all of us seems quite too shameful, they alone kiss our emperors with covered heads.<sup>57</sup>

Not only does this anecdote suggest an elaborate protocol concerning the wearing of headgear around the court where the hunting park was located, but also that courtiers wore hats regularly, as Byzantine envoys to the west “kiss[ed] [their] emperors with covered heads.” He makes a second mention of hats when describing his father’s visit with the emperor. Liutprand’s father visited Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44) in the second quarter of the tenth century with exotic dogs, unknown in the east, who “. . . saw his strange dress and the Greek hood that covered his face they thought he was a monster not a man.”<sup>58</sup> Another foreigner, Ramón Muntaner, comments “all the officials of Romania [i.e., the Byzantine Empire] have a special hat the like of which no other man may wear.”<sup>59</sup> Muntaner did not write about the expeditions made by the Spanish to Constantinople until 1302, but because there is continuity in the prescribed court dress, it is difficult to imagine that the custom of wearing hats was completely new in the Late Byzantine period. Another Middle Byzantine example of a hat can be found in the epic poem *Digenes Akritas*, thought to have been composed around the tenth century, which describes its hero as wearing a red, fur cap.<sup>60</sup>

The hats displayed in the illumination of Nikephoros Botaneiates with his courtiers (plate 3), the donor image in the *Lavra Lectionary* (Athos Lavra, MS A 103, fol. 3v), and the four images from the *Foreign Bride* story (Vat. Gr. 1851, fols. 1, 2v, 3v, 6) (plate 12) represent the only surviving images of Middle Byzantine courtly hats that can be relied on for any accuracy. Yet, in this small sample we find several different types of hats. The *Foreign Bride* story depicts fan-shaped hats with varying ornaments for the women, while the men are shown in trapezoidal hats, conical hats, and bulbous caps (plate 12), similar to that found on the donor in the *Lavra Lectionary*. The courtiers flanking Nikephoros Botaneiates wear two other very different types of hats (plate 3). Interestingly, few men outside of court



are represented in Byzantine art wearing hats. More often than not, the few examples shown are turbans, such as the one wore by the donor Leon in Carikli Kilise in Cappadocia<sup>61</sup> (plate 6f) or the turban worn by a man in prayer on a shard of Middle Byzantine pottery found at Corinth.<sup>62</sup> While turbans represent different influences on fashion from Constantinople, which is discussed in chapter 3, these depictions do attest to a custom of covering one's head.

Archaeological digs in Egypt have uncovered many hats from the Byzantine period in Egypt, the third until the seventh centuries. While these examples are far removed from the Middle Byzantine court, they give us a clearer picture as to what hats actually looked like. These hats are typically woven from wool and are fitted closely to the head without brims. Examples found are either solid colored or geometrically patterned, usually striped. Often these hats have tassels, such as the two examples now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>63</sup> These examples do not differ greatly from those worn by Nikephoros's courtiers, although we might imagine that their hats would be woven from silk or fine linen rather than knitted from coarser wool. The hats discovered at Moscevaja Balka, a site filled with central Asian clothes destined for eighth- or ninth-century Byzantium discussed at greater length in chapter 5, are fitted silk caps without brims, sometimes covering the ears, with brightly colored geometric patterns in addition to some wool caps like those found in Egypt.<sup>64</sup> The number of these hat finds is fairly extensive. For instance, four examples of secular headgear can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>65</sup> three in the Washington DC Textile Museum,<sup>66</sup> and one in the Carnegie Museum of Natural History,<sup>67</sup> to name only a few.

The number of surviving hats, and the important references to hats by chroniclers before the eleventh century, suggests an earlier use of hats than was previously thought. Nevertheless, *The Book of Ceremonies* rarely mentions hats (apart from crowns) and we have no portraits of courtiers with hats before the eleventh century. It is important to note that the only pre-eleventh-century portraits of courtiers are the images of Leo Sakellarios and his brother Constantine (plate 13) (Vat. Gr. 1, fols. 2v and 3v), made around the 930s, and the tenth-century portrait of two unnamed officials with St. Paul in *The Praxapostolos* (Sinai Gr. 283, fol. 107v).<sup>68</sup> Because these are images of donation, perhaps a hat was inappropriate, although we do have one later Middle Byzantine donor image where the courtier wears a hat, as mentioned earlier (Athos Lavra, MS A 103, fol. 3v). As most surviving images of courtiers are dedicatory ones, the lack of images of hats is likely an accident of survival.

There are a few explanations for the apparent lack of headgear in *The Book of Ceremonies* and the *Kletorologion*, crucial sources for dress at the

Byzantine court. Philotheos typically refers to a courtier's insignia using the general term *insignia* (τοσχήμια). However, insignia likely included a hat, baton, stole, and/or *blattia* or *tablion*. Similar to Philotheos, Constantine VII, when describing the people of the factions at the crowning of an emperor, says that while in proskynesis their scepters and other insignia lay next to them.<sup>69</sup> This insignia to which Constantine VII refers likely included several accessories, of which a hat was probably one. This generic reference to insignia is made throughout by both authors and by most other writers as well. Psellos, for example, comments on Romanos III's death noting that "[The emperor] was laid out and [Psellos] could recognize neither his skin nor his form, except from his insignia."<sup>70</sup> Byzantine writers assume that the reader is familiar with the insignia of office, which may have included headgear, so there was no need to mention it specifically.

A second reason why there are few literary references to hats is because of the problems with terminology. Some of the terms mentioned earlier that we are unable to define may in fact be hats. For example, the *sabanion* is worn with a *sticharion*, a known term for a tunic, which while typically monastic, is worn sometimes at court:<sup>71</sup> ". . .the protospatharioi wear their sticharions and their sabanions. . ." <sup>72</sup> Here, and in all references to the *sabanion*, there is no reason to assume that the garment is a tunic. The term itself is derived from the word for coarse linen, which does not give any clues as to the form of the garment.<sup>73</sup> It could just as easily have been some type of headgear, as many surviving hats from other regions were made of linen. There was likely no dearth of hats in the literary or visual record.

### The Dress of Women at Court

While women are mentioned as participants in court ceremony, albeit far less often than men, *The Book of Ceremonies* rarely describes women's clothing. Except for the empress, whose clothes paralleled the emperor's (see chapter 1), women at court are described entering and exiting ceremonies, but their clothes are not mentioned. For example, in describing a series of ceremonies involving the empress, Constantine VII lists large groups of women—the wives of senators, *protospatharioi*, and others—with no mention of clothing.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, the *Kletorologion* does not even mention women in its descriptions of ceremonies; historians described the dress of empresses, but not those of court women.

One of the only instances where a female courtier's clothing is described is in the ceremony promoting the *zoste patrikia* (ζωστή πατρικία) in *The Book of Ceremonies*. The *zoste patrikia* was an honorary title, often given to foreign women for diplomatic purposes.<sup>75</sup> The ceremony to inaugurate the *zoste patrikia* states that she wears a *delmatikion*, *maphorion*, and *thorakion*.

The *maphorion* is a headscarf that is usually worn by women. Although a male version of the *maphorion* did exist, it is unlikely that it was a veil and was perhaps a hood.<sup>76</sup> The *thorakion* while undefined to date (see chapter 1), is usually a female garment or accessory.<sup>77</sup> The *delmatikion* may be solely female as well. It was primarily an ecclesiastical garment that evolved out of a wide-sleeved tunic belonging to the Roman period;<sup>78</sup> the limited use of the term in Middle Byzantine sources suggests that the lay use of the garment was primarily for women. The garments of the *zoste patrikia* and empress were probably mentioned by Constantine VII, while those of other women were not, because these are the two highest-ranking females at court. The *zoste patrikia* wore clothing that was distinct from male garments. Not coincidentally, her position was the only female rank that did not have a male counterpart, which perhaps created a need for a unique ensemble for the *zoste patrikia*.

The *Book of Ceremonies* and other Middle Byzantine literature may be virtually silent about women's dress because their clothing, or at least their insignia, was understood to match their husband's. Because the only female courtier whose dress is described fully does not have a male counterpart, it seems logical that the scores of other women who paraded in and out of the palace wore clothing that identified their rank in relation to their husband's. In other words, after Constantine VII describes the male courtiers' participation in various ceremonies, including what each wore, there was no need to describe what the women wore as it paralleled the outfits of the men. The emperor and empress wore similar clothing for ceremonies, as argued in chapter 1, so it follows that the same would be true for courtiers of lower ranks.

The visual sources for female courtiers are extremely limited as well; the only images of female courtiers are to be found in a single manuscript: the story of a foreign princess coming to Constantinople to marry the emperor (Vat. MS Gr. 1851). Significantly, these images do not support the theory that women at court wore the insignia of their male counterparts. We have three types of women represented in this story: imperial women consisting of the emperor's sister who greets the foreign princess and the new bride herself, "ladies-in-waiting"<sup>79</sup> (high-ranking female servants), and court women whose ranks are unidentified, probably the spouses of courtiers or relatives of the imperial family. The "ladies-in-waiting," who wear the same dress and flank the new bride in folio 3v, are discussed in chapter 4 in a discussion of domestic servants.

The women we are concerned with here stand outside the tent of the princess while she changes in folio 6 (plate 12). The emperor's sister and the foreign princess, when not in imperial regalia, are shown in dresses like the other women with the addition of crowns to denote their status and

thus their clothes are pertinent here as well. All wear tunics, or more properly dresses as these garments have some tailoring in the sleeves, although not the waist, each in a different, busily patterned fabric. Two of the women wear very large, white fan-shaped hats with a different ornament on each, one displaying a series of arcs and the other a large N-shaped design. The third woman outside the tent wears a crown, suggesting that she too is of imperial rank, although she does not wear the pearl-studded clothes and oversized *pendulia* that the imperial women inside the tent wear. All of the women don armbands, likely embroidered panels added to their tunics. Their hands emerge from enormously wide sleeves that swing down to brush their ankles! As I discuss in chapter 3, I believe these sleeves are a fashion imported from the West, appropriate to the origins of this particular manuscript.<sup>80</sup>

Notably, the women's dress represented here does not look like any of the garments shown on men. They are likely not wearing prescribed court regalia as they do not appear to be involved in a specific ceremony and are participating in a more intimate activity that only involves the women. Another significant difference between the clothing of men and women at court is that the women's clothes do not suggest a hierarchy in the way that the men's clothing does, with the exception of the imperial crowns, which further supports the idea that their clothing in these images are not signals of the rank of their spouses. In the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, the courtiers to Nikephoros Botaneiates's left are dressed similarly, as are Leo Sakellarios and his brother Constantine, with only their accessories and trim distinguishing them from one another. (plates 3 and 13). The outfits of these men imply a hierarchical order where some are equally ranked and they demonstrate that a system of hats, ornament, and garments were used to show rank. For example, the figures to Nikephoros Botaneiates's right wear the same hat suggesting their equal rank; the trim on the garments of Leo and Constantine implies that they are of a different rank than Nikephoros Botaneiates's courtiers who have *tablia* on their cloaks. The prescriptive texts for courtiers describe this system very plainly (although we might not always understand it!).

The women in Vat. Gr. 1851, on the other hand, may or may not be wearing rank-defining dress; each dress is made in a distinct fabric although similarly cut; each wears armbands but no two are alike; each wears a unique hat or crown. The similarities may show trends or they may signify similar ranks; the differences can be interpreted as individual choice in dress or as a hierarchical system. The women are either following a system that can no longer be understood, or they are not dressed in hierarchical regalia at all—it simply is not as evident as the men's clothing. Furthermore, given that we are dealing only with a minute sample of female images, it is

impossible to know if it was typical for women to *not* wear clothing suggestive of their rank or if this image depicts an event outside of court ceremony.

### Conclusions

Prescriptive texts, such as the *Kletorologion*, can highlight trends in Byzantine dress in addition to the terminology used. First, the array of clothing worn by courtiers seems to exceed what is pictured. A typical courtier, such as Leo Sakellarios, seen in the frontispiece of the Leo Bible, wears a cloak over a tunic (plate 13). This cloak could be a *chlamys* or *sagion* and the tunic could be one of any number of types of tunics. Elisabeth Piltz suggests that artists stylized images to a degree that makes each outfit generic, and a modern viewer unable to distinguish between tunics and cloaks of various types. While one cannot distinguish between clothing of the same type, in most cases it is not the fault of the artist. I suggest that the Byzantine viewer could read what specific types of garments were pictured in most images.

Comparing the courtiers in the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, the Lavra Lectionary, and Leo Sakellarios and his brother, we find that their cloaks have many differences (plates 3 and 13). Leo and his brother's are solid colored with a decorative border, while Nikephoros's courtiers' are patterned. The unnamed donor in the Lavra manuscript has a patterned *chlamys*, but no *tablion*. The courtiers in the Chrysostom codex additionally have *tablia* on their cloaks. The border of Leo's cloak is straight, turning ninety degrees to run straight across the bottom, while the borders of the courtier's cloaks and the unnamed official are curved. Leo and his brother's cloaks are fastened with one *fibula* while the Nikephoros's courtier's cloaks are fastened with two. The unnamed official in the Lavra Lectionary fastens his cloak with a small round brooch. Furthermore, differences can be seen in the tunics of the courtiers in the Homilies. The two men to Nikephoros's left wear clearly pronounced under-tunics whose fabric peeks out at the bottom of their over-tunics. The gentleman in the caftan and the courtier to Nikephoros's far right do not appear to wear under-tunics. None of these men wear tunics with a gold embroidered hem, the way Leo and the unnamed courtier do. These differences are minor to the modern viewer, but may have meant the difference between a *divetesion* and a *chiton*. Today we use the words jeans, khakis, trousers, corduroys, cargo pants, dress pants, and slacks to distinguish between various types of pants. Although jeans seem drastically different than dress pants worn with a suit, both are cut similarly with slight differences in the pockets and fabric, which might not even be apparent in images to an observer from another time and place.

While we cannot salvage the nuances of each Byzantine clothing term and link it with an image of that garment, it is important to appreciate that painters likely attempted to portray the extensive wardrobes of courtiers, just as Byzantine writers were specific in their descriptions.

Terminology also points out the relative value of clothing. Because courtiers were paid in clothing and/or fabric along with gold, they were paid in weight of goods, as was typical in a medieval economy. Weight is an important concept in Byzantine fashion, for courtiers and others. Liudprand of Cremona's observations on the payment of salaries suggests that the denser the fabric, the better the payment. The most sought after decorating techniques, such as brocading and embroidery, made fabric heavier. In processions, the imperial tailors wear "gold embroidery."<sup>81</sup> Our images of courtiers show that they typically wore layers, adding to the weight of their outfits. By contrast, thin or sheer garments are used as a *topos* of modesty in saints' lives and histories. Psellos describes the Empress Zoe in this way: "As for ornaments about her person, she absolutely despised them: she wore neither cloth of gold, nor diadems, nor lovely things about her neck. Her garments were not of the heavy sort: in fact she clothed herself in thin dresses."<sup>82</sup>

The ornament of choice for the garments of courtiers was embroidery, as opposed to designs that were part of multicolored fabric or those woven into the garment.<sup>83</sup> Details seen in the cloaks of the Leo Bible, for example, show the ornament only on the trim of the garment denoting an addition to the cloak, such as embroidery (plate 13). The terms *blattia* and *tablion* among others terms, refer to applied embroidered shapes, which can be clearly seen in many of the images discussed so far.

Embroidered strips now removed from the undyed garments they once decorated, make up the majority of textiles from Byzantine Egypt found in most collections, suggesting it was a popular technique for ornamenting clothing in general. When imagining our courtiers, we should see them wearing plain clothes with elaborate accessories, such as belts or collars, with the added bits of ornamental embroidery. For example, the *curopalates* and *noblissimos* wear gold embroidered ornaments on their chitons and belts.<sup>84</sup> The *cubiculariou* are dressed in *kamisia* that "are decorated all around with *blattia*."<sup>85</sup> A large supply of court clothing, intended for officials to wear on the road as well as for diplomatic gifts, is described on the imperial baggage train in *On Imperial Expeditions*. The number of borders that they have presumably embroidered onto their garments, is typically mentioned and many garments have detachable collars.<sup>86</sup> While the tunics and cloaks of courtiers are often made in a single color, both the *Kletorologion* and *The Book of Ceremonies* describe courtiers who are heavily accessorized with batons, belts, and collars and have added ornamental embroidery serving as their insignia.

Embroidery, fine fabrics and garments, and accessories that made up one's courtly dress, not only signified rank but in a subtle way told one your salary. Because courtiers were often paid in textiles, along with some accessories, in addition to coins, courtiers must have typically worn their salaries. While the relative weight of a garment may not have been visible to anyone but the wearer, the sumptuousness of a particular fabric, the saturation of the dyestuff used (the more saturated the better), the motifs used signaled the overall value of the outfit, made literally from one's wages. The layering and accessorizing, which is stressed in these texts and images, in part allowed one to show off one's net worth. The desire among courtiers to elaborate on their prescribed insignia and to place importance on the cut, fabric, style, and techniques used in making garments constitutes fashion.

Fashion in the Byzantine world must be determined by whether or not the Byzantines were altering the code of accepted dress; in addition fashion requires that one should dress based on a desire to wear what is new, a change in what clothing had become customary. Because court dress was prescribed, this is a difficult case to make; the garments worn by courtiers were sometimes even dispensed to them for wearing during a ceremony. Harun Ibn Yahya witnessed the emperor giving "robes of honor" to Muslim prisoners whom he brought to the Great Church after a magnificent parade in the late ninth century; the wearing of appropriate robes of the court signaled their loyalty—albeit forced—to the emperor.<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, signifiers must have existed within the prescribed attire of the Byzantine court, allowing for higher-ranking officials to select better fabrics or trim for their *chlamydes* than bureaucrats of lesser distinction. Dress historians have agreed that medieval dress in general, not just ceremonial garments, not be regarded as fashion, due to the simple cuts of garments and similarities between clothing at all levels of society. Fashion is largely viewed as beginning in the Renaissance period, when changes in style can be discerned over brief periods of time, akin to the modern fashion season. A quick look at any library shelf demonstrates that the majority of histories begin at this point.<sup>88</sup> Clothing of the medieval world has been viewed as utilitarian, with little attention paid to the garments' cut or style beyond the sumptuous fabrics used. Anne Hollander is just one leading fashion theorist with this bias. James Laver, a dress historian who established the foundations for most dress histories written in the last three decades, writes: "It was in the second half of the fourteenth century that clothes both for men and for women took on new forms, and something emerges which we can already call 'fashion.'"<sup>89</sup> He refers here to the common distinction made by dress historians between fitted and draped clothing—tailored clothing creates these "new forms."<sup>90</sup> Even revisionist

thinkers who have broadened the scope of fashion theory, such as Fred Davis, stick to the fourteenth century as the emergence of fashion.<sup>91</sup> Comments such as Laver's exhibit prejudice against a time when the technology for cutting and sewing garments was less advanced and therefore a narrow view of fashion is put forth. Fashion is, according to Hollander's own words, "the whole spectrum of desirable ways of looking at any given time. The scope of what everyone wants to be seen wearing in a given society is what is in fashion."<sup>92</sup> Laver and many others define fashion by the clothing itself rather than the *appetite* for particular ornamentation generated by a shift in what is generally coveted by a given group of people.

Despite the fact that court clothing is part of protocol, prescribed and worn for its hierarchical meaning, changes in the prescribed dress are still apparent. The *chlamys* for example, moves from a military to a courtly garment and then becomes appropriate business wear for any citizen. While we cannot say exactly when it became fashionable as a business suit, we can see that the reception of the garment adjusted over time. Judging by the fact that one cannot say precisely what clothing went with a particular rank, even when looking at a single text, such as The *Kletorologion*, the prescription was not that rigid. Likely, the appropriate garments changed over time—again evidence of a shift in fashion—in addition to variance based on the context (i.e., the particular ceremony), which itself probably changed under different emperors.

Furthermore, we should imagine that a courtier had some leeway within his sanctioned outfit. Students wearing school uniforms today get tremendously creative in their choice of shoes, stockings, and the type of white-collared shirt, so it is not hard to imagine that a courtier who is simply told to wear a blue cloak, for example, had many choices still to make when getting dressed. For instance, notaries were simply told to wear cloaks before the prefect, without any color or insignia specified.<sup>93</sup> Finally, courtiers must have worn non-ceremonial clothes to work sometimes; while prescribed dress was required for ceremonies, a regular occurrence, ceremonies were not a daily activity. For example, Psellos insults the president of the senate, Constantine Doukas, calling him a hick and referring to his dressing as "careless."<sup>94</sup> It is unclear whether Doukas's poor habits pertain to his choices in ceremonial garments or to business attire that he wore that was not prescribed; either way the insult would not work if courtiers were simply wearing uniforms.

These garments were also selected for their links with the past, especially the Roman past. Much like members of the British parliament who wear wigs and robes of a bygone era to express the roots of their democratic processes, the Byzantines hailed their Roman ancestors in the senate, consulate, and military through their choice of dress. The obvious Byzantine concern for



dressing appropriately must be considered part of the protocol of the Byzantine court.

Court dress, however, stands out among Byzantine dress in general precisely because it is prescribed, even loosely. The Byzantine elite, found in Constantinople and the provinces, who were not associated with the court, had the means to make even more conscious choices about their dress. They reacted to what they saw around them and dressed according to what was “in.” Chapter 3 presents a very different view of Byzantine dress: one that relies not on tradition but on desire.

## CHAPTER 3

### DRESS OF THE BORDERLAND ELITE

Well-dressed citizens were found throughout the empire and not confined to Constantinople. The aristocracy of the provinces, who portrayed themselves in dedicatory images in regions such as Cappadocia and Kastoria, had the means to buy expensive clothes and to show themselves off in those clothes. Unlike the prescribed dress of courtiers, the Byzantine upper classes participated in fashion by desiring certain types of clothing and thereby driving the taste for those clothes. Dedicatory portraits, which comprise the majority of our evidence for the dress of the elite outside of the capital, present two paradigms of Middle Byzantine dress. First, these portraits found in borderland regions reflect the bordering culture rather than the Byzantine capital. Cappadocians had Georgian, Armenian, and Islamic neighbors. Kastoria bordered a large population of Armenian and Georgian refugees in Thrace; Bulgaria ruled Kastoria from the mid-ninth century until the early eleventh centuries; the Normans briefly occupied Kastoria beginning in 1083 and stayed long after Alexius's reconquest in 1093.<sup>1</sup> While some of these aristocratic citizens had ties to Constantinople and even held official titles, their dress demonstrates their participation in the borderland cultures in which they lived. Local fashions, and not those of the capital, dictated their clothing choices. This situation leads to a second paradigm for Middle Byzantine dress: taste for these borderland fashions often spread to the capital city from the outskirts, moving in the opposite direction from what modern fashion theorists are accustomed to.<sup>2</sup> Turbans, for example, were a normal element of Cappadocian dress at least 200 years before they became fashionable in the capital.

Dedicatory images of the provinces add further important information for our understanding of dress. Women are represented in much greater numbers than in the capital where we have only a few images of female Byzantine courtiers and almost no empresses in anything other than their imperial regalia. Portraits found in the provinces and the clothing worn in

them point to the wealth of these regions. The textiles in these borderlands appear to be luxurious, with bright brocaded caftans (*kabbadion*) and complicated woven silks. The variety of outfits worn points to the rich array of cloth and garments available in these outlying lands. Lastly, the diverse dress displayed in the portraits of these border societies also highlights other centers of power beyond Constantinople. For example, the Georgian and Armenian of courts were arbiters of style; the Normans stimulated new fashions on the western borders of the empire. Together these cultural influences and their effect on the dress of these border regions demonstrate that Greek culture did not enjoy uniform hegemony throughout the empire.

Textual sources confirm that the wealthy of the provinces not only spent money on clothing, but were also concerned with being stylish, in contrast to the courtiers discussed in the previous chapter, who were primarily interested in being dressed appropriately. For example, in the mid-twelfth century David Komnenos, governor of Thessalonike, was chastised by Bishop Eustathios for his stylish dress which he describes: “[he] wore *braccae* [pants], newfangled shoes, and a red Georgian hat. . . [his] tight trousers were held up by a knot in the back.”<sup>3</sup> In the *vita* of the tenth-century saint, Mary the Younger, we find that her husband is embarrassed because he cannot find elegant clothing in which to bury her; she had given all her clothing and jewelry away to the church.<sup>4</sup> Mary’s husband was apparently desperate to have his wife well-dressed, even in death. Benjamin of Tudela, a twelfth-century traveler who documented the life of Jews from Spain across Europe to China, notes the well-dressed Byzantines as a group, “The Greeks who inhabit the country are extremely rich and possess great wealth of gold and precious stones. They dress in garments of silk, ornamented by gold and other valuable materials; they ride upon horses and in their appearance they are like princes.”<sup>5</sup>

Wills and trousseau lists, in particular, can give us some idea as to the number of outfits owned by a wealthy family. Nikolas Oikonomides studied Late Byzantine wills concluding that individuals of middle income typically owned one to three formal outfits costing several *hyperpera* each.<sup>6</sup> I find this estimate somewhat conservative; wills typically list only those items made of high quality and/or brightly dyed fabric. Furthermore, monks and nuns, according to *typika*, were usually assigned two outfits a year, one for cold and one for warm weather; in keeping with the monastic lifestyle, two outfits were obviously intended to be austere.<sup>7</sup> We can infer then that a typical Byzantine owned more than this number of outfits. In a sixth-century inventory of a house in Ravenna we find that the owner lists four garments, and even his recently freed slave owns two outfits; it is difficult to believe that a middle-income medieval Byzantine household

averaged the same number of outfits as a sixth-century slave in the empire.<sup>8</sup> The will of Eustathius Boilas, dated 1059, includes eight garments and also states “if there should be found any of my clothes or bed apparel, they shall be distributed to any of the holy monks.”<sup>9</sup> The statement implies that Boilas owned garments that were not precious enough to be mentioned in his will individually. Trousseau lists of women living in medieval Egypt demonstrate that women brought into a marriage enough textiles and clothing, for a lifetime of furnishings, linens, and a wardrobe for both husband and wife.<sup>10</sup> One physician living in Cilicia in the year 1137 complained of the expense of Byzantine dowries:

Dowries in this country [the Byzantine Empire] are very expensive. I gave my son-in-law, R(abbi) Samuel, son of R. Moses, son of R. Samuel, the Longobard merchant, the following: 324 pieces of gold; a pound of silver; a brocade robe; two silk robes; two woollen garments; two Greek pounds of ornaments; a silken purse; four tunics; two cotton robes; ten long and short turbans; a bed with a canopy; a round cupboard, decorated with paintings; a copper ewer, wash basin and dipper; rings of gold and silver; blankets; servants; altogether two hundred dinars.<sup>11</sup>

Textiles and clothing play no small part in this dowry. Courtiers were given from one to several garments per year as payment, which seems almost excessive; but we should imagine the wardrobe of a member of the court in Constantinople to be larger than an elite person living out in the provinces. While to modern eyes the people of the Byzantine Empire owned relatively few clothes, in the context of the medieval world these examples suggest that wardrobes of the elite were quite extensive.

Painted portraits of sumptuously dressed church patrons produced in the borderlands reinforce this impression of overflowing wardrobes found in the wills and dowries of the elite. Portraits survive in great number in Cappadocia and Kastoria, which are presented in this chapter as case studies in borderland dress. The strong evidence for a local style of dress in each of these regions, rather than an empire-wide style of dress provides a scenario for the transmission of fashion trends throughout the empire. Situated on major trade routes, Cappadocians and Kastorians had access to textiles and clothing from other centers outside of their capital city. Trends begun in these border towns traveled to the center and eventually impinged upon the traditional dress of the court.

Alexander Kazhdan posited that ethnic dress began to gain popularity in the twelfth century<sup>12</sup>—a statement that holds true if one only looks at Constantinopolitan dress. However, the taste for “ethnic” dress is in evidence as early as the ninth century on the borders of the empire; a flourishing of

“ethnic” dress at court, by contrast, does not occur until the twelfth century as seen in Vatican Gr. 1851 (plate 12). Foreign items of dress stood out to Byzantine writers in the environs of the capital city. Niketas Choniates, quoted earlier but worth noting again here, in describing the Emperor Andronikos Komnenos in the twelfth century notes that he wore,

a slit mauve costume sewn of Georgian fabric that came down to his knees and covered only his upper arms. . . [he was] not arrayed in golden imperial vestments, but in the guise of a much-toiling laborer, dressed in a dark, parted cloak that reached down to his buttocks, and having his feet shod in knee-high white boots.<sup>13</sup>

This description matches Georgian court dress, for example, Giorgi Lasa in the Church of Betania, dated to after 1207.<sup>14</sup> Writers of Constantinople never refer to ethnic articles of clothing, such as turbans or caftans, without mentioning the ethnicity of the dress. For example in *The Kletorologion*, foreign dress is always specifically pointed out, “. . . all foreigners, Pharganes, Khazars, Agarenes, French. . . enter and leave wearing clothes of Barbarians called kabbadin (i.e., caftan).”<sup>15</sup> Not uncommonly, Byzantine writers in the form of a slur highlighted ethnic dress,

Serbs in the dialect of the Romans means “slaves,” from which the common word “serbula” for menial shoes, and “tzerboulianoi,” for those who wear poor, cheap footwear [comes]. This name the Serbs comes from their being slaves of the Roman emperor.<sup>16</sup>

These so-called ethnic modes of dress are problematic in that these borderland populations did not distinguish between clothing seen as “Greek” or “Christian” and clothing derived from other cultures; these distinctions were made by those in the capital who were less familiar with these styles and the division was propagated by dress historians in the nineteenth and later centuries. By examining the multinational culture out of which the dress of the borderland elite grew, our focus may shift from a view of the borderlands as peripheral and unsophisticated to a more nuanced view of provincial life.

Most historians of borderland regions agree that the multinational flavor of the Byzantine empire, while extant throughout its territories, was strongest in the far flung provinces where Armenians, Georgians, Muslims, Bulgarians, and others were less likely to assimilate to a specifically Byzantine Greek culture. Speros Vryonis best characterizes the borderlands, “. . . here cultural absorption was incomplete and was often manifested in mixed cultural phenomena such as bilingualism and a loosening of religious

lines via intermarriage.”<sup>17</sup> Dress can certainly be included in these “mixed cultural phenomena” to which Vryonis refers. In terms of their fashions, Cappadocians took from available Byzantine, Islamic, Georgian, and Armenian sources without regard to national identity; Kastorians borrowed from Georgians, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Normans. Byzantines of Cappadocia incorporated dress of the surrounding cultures without distinguishing themselves as “Byzantine” or even “Christian” in their manner of dress. This multicultural dress suggests that Byzantines wore what was desirable to them, and therefore, what was fashionable. The garments worn by these Byzantine citizens did not conjure up a specific national origin, rather these items represented the elegant dress of men and women of stature in their borderland culture.

In contrast to the heightened ethnic awareness of those near the center of the empire, we find that writers in the borderlands mention similar garments with no notice of their ethnicity. The wife of Philaretos the Merciful, angry that Philaretos had given away their last cow, “threw her turban off her head, began to pull her hair out and she went out to him and she rebuked him. . .”<sup>18</sup> This narrative of ninth-century borderland life is set in Amneia in Paphlagonia where turbans were common and therefore no mention is made of the eastern origins of this article of clothing. Similarly, Eustathius Boilas, who lived in Cappadocia, bequeathed a purple caftan among many other items, to his church.<sup>19</sup> As a regular part of Cappadocian dress, there was no sense that the caftan was Georgian or Armenian in origin, and therefore no need to mention it, the way Choniates did when describing Andronikos Komnenos. The images of this region further attest to the commonness of turbans, caftans, and other articles of dress, seen as ethnic by those nearest the capital.

The first travelers who documented the cultures of the Balkans and Middle East for Western Europeans in the nineteenth century exacerbated the ethnic awareness of Byzantine historians who worked within the sphere of Constantinople. G.F. Abbott, who wrote several texts on the Balkans, made gross generalizations about the peoples that he encountered (Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, and Turks), and furthered cultural stereotypes regarding dress and other traits. For example, in his description of the mixed population of Petritz he noted that the Muslim women were less sophisticated here than those in large cities, such as Thessalonike. He likened the dress of the women of Petritz to “mummy wrapping” and described his obvious titillation when they removed their veils; by contrast he never described the dress of the cosmopolitan city dwellers as it did not fit into the notion of Muslim womanhood that he presented.<sup>20</sup> Gertrude Bell conjured up entire garments, giving them ethnic labels, which clearly do not hold up. For example, she stayed with a Christian couple in Syria in

her *The Desert and the Sown* and remarks that the woman was not dressed like a Christian (although we do not learn what constitutes “Christian dress”) but rather wore the veils of Arabs and tattoos of Bedouins.<sup>21</sup> Rather than seeing tattooing and veiling as broader modes of dress that extend beyond Arabs and Bedouins, she characterizes her hostess as an anomaly. Writers such as these packaged the notion of a Muslim for European consumption (excessively veiled women and dirty, sandal-clad men with “primitive,” overly religious views are frequently invoked), ignoring the dress that did not fit with the stereotypical image; texts such as these provided the earliest histories of dress of these regions to be published in the West. It is no wonder then that the first art historians to study Byzantine dress rigidly distinguished Byzantine from Islamic and Slavic dress<sup>22</sup> assuming a continuum in a world that was viewed as having changed little since medieval times, while in reality it will be shown that in medieval Cappadocia and Kastoria these ethnic differences did not exist.

The dress of borderland elites have been grouped together because we find the same phenomenon in relation to fashion—a well-dressed elite who produced many portraits, wearing clothing that was heavily influenced by non-Byzantine styles. However, as Kastoria exhibits different styles from Cappadocia, they will each be discussed separately.

### Cappadocia

Mounting pressure from Islam, an aggressive Byzantine offensive, and a constantly shifting power structure in the buffer zones of Armenia and Georgia made for oscillations in the border that contributed to a culturally mixed region. Cappadocia was a diverse region with a border in flux. In the Early Byzantine period, Cappadocia bordered the Persian Empire, and later the Umayyad caliphate as well as Armenia. By the ninth century, Cappadocia bordered Armenia to the east, Georgia<sup>23</sup> to the northeast, and the Abbasid Caliphate to the south, held at bay only by the Euphrates River and Taurus Mountains. The Byzantines and Abbasids fought throughout the Middle Byzantine era, with the Armenian and Georgian kings making alliances with both the Byzantine Emperor and the Abbasid Emirs as was necessary, creating a constantly moving border around Cappadocia. The Byzantines, on the offensive during much of this period, managed to push the Abbasids backward, taking over much of Armenia and Georgia. In 966, Taron became part of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>24</sup> By the early eleventh century, Basil II went as far as Iberia on the border of the Caucasus Mountains, east of the Black Sea. Around 1021–22, the Byzantines took Vaspurakan from the Armenians, a region well past Lake Van in eastern Turkey. In exchange, the Byzantines gave Armenians and

Georgians lands in the Cappadocian region, including the city of Caesarea.<sup>25</sup>

Although created by Greek-speaking Byzantines, Cappadocia's portraits, which exist in great number in Middle Byzantine churches in the region, reflect a multicultural borderland society. While many have noted the multinational character of Cappadocians and their art, Cappadocian dress has not been examined.<sup>26</sup> Middle Byzantine Cappadocian churches contain over fifty donor portraits of lay persons. Thirty-four of these donors exhibit contemporary secular dress, providing outstanding evidence for contemporary fashions. The remaining examples are too ruined to yield any information about dress. It should be noted that the portraits of Cappadocia have been considerably damaged due to exposure and vandalism, both historical and modern. Figures are typically partial, and heads are special targets of vandals. A dedicatory inscription and/or the dress can identify the gender of the donor, though it is not always possible to tell. For the purposes of this study, I am only using those portraits for which I can reasonably ascertain the gender of the figure and describe some article of clothing.

The most commonly worn garment for women or men is the caftan. Over half of the small number of laywomen pictured wear a caftan and a dozen of the twenty-six male portraits display caftans. These long robes, worn over tunics, differ from *divetesions* and other long tunics seen in the capital in that they open up at the front. The best examples of the caftan are pictured in Selime Kilise, of the eleventh century, in a portrait with nine figures beneath what is probably the Mother of God<sup>27</sup> (plate 14). The caftans of these figures are voluminous, opening up the front to reveal tunics beneath. Some of the garments show a split front at the bottom of the garment to the knee and at the top of the garment to the chest but appear solid in the middle. For instance the garment on an unknown male in the eleventh-century church of Karabas, a patterned caftan is split just to the top of his sword, while a V plunges to his chest, leaving only his midriff covered with fabric (plate 6b). This garment was perhaps best rendered in the *Entry into Jerusalem* in the eleventh-century Carikli Kilise, where two men remove their contemporary caftans to lay them down before Christ<sup>28</sup> (plate 6g). While it is impossible to tell if the garment is simply closed in the center by a clasp of some kind or if it is solid in the center of the body, the term caftan will be used to refer to any sleeved garment with a partial- or full-length opening. The caftan allowed its wearer to move more easily and even ride a horse, which is what distinguishes the garment from a tunic. Furthermore, any length of slit differentiates this garment from the full tunics seen in the capital that must be pulled on over the head.

It is not surprising to find that the caftan is the garment of choice in Armenian and Georgian portraits of the same period. For example, the



Armenian King Gagik of Vaspurakan wears a vertically striped caftan beneath a cloak in his image of donation on the façade of the Church of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar, built between 915 and 921.<sup>29</sup> The artist carefully carved the fabric billowing out revealing the split in the caftan by Gagik's knees. King Leon III of Abxazeti wears another example of a caftan on the exterior of K'umurdo church in Javaxeti, built in 964.<sup>30</sup> Antony Eastmond, in his study of images of rulers in Georgia suggests that this garment was a traditional symbol of power for the Georgians,<sup>31</sup> which probably accounts for its use in these borderlands where the wealthy looked to the powerful in their region as purveyors of taste. The Cappadocian portraits themselves suggest that the donors were wealthy enough to afford to have their picture painted and make some contribution to the building and upkeep of these churches. In addition, inscriptions sometimes name titles for these figures indicating that they wielded some power. Naturally, leaders in the courts of the Georgian and Armenian kingdoms, rather than the farther-flung elite in Constantinople would dictate the fashions of the Cappadocian aristocracy.

The caftan, known in Arabic as *qaba*, dates back to pre-Islamic Arab peoples as well as to Sassanian Persians when it was similarly made of brocade with a slit up the front, possibly fastened with buttons, and large sleeves.<sup>32</sup> These garments, especially those decorated with *tiraz*, embroidered bands, take on a significant role under the Umayyad Caliphate, when they were first worn at court; they evolve into the *khil'a* with *tiraz*, or "robes of honor," which became of even greater importance under the Abbasids who used them for investiture of their courtiers, as well as foreign subjects, such as the Armenians and Georgians.<sup>33</sup>

Also strikingly frequent in Cappadocian portraits is the large roundel pattern used on the fabric of many of these garments, such as that on the figures at Selime Kilise, discussed earlier (plate 14). Large roundel designs appear on several garments pictured in the Cappadocian region as well as on Georgian and Armenian garments. For example, the female donor, Eudokia, in the eleventh-century church of St. Daniel in Göreme wears both a caftan and an outer cloak with roundel patterns<sup>34</sup> (plate 11b). The light brown caftan has brocaded roundels ringed with dots, with small circles in the center of the roundel. The darker brown cloak continues the same pattern. Roundel patterns frequently appear on surviving Byzantine textiles, such as reliquary textile of St. Siviard of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, which features a white silk roundel encircling a griffin, accented in gold thread.<sup>35</sup> Only the fashionable *vestitores* of Nikephoros Botaneiates court wears a garment displaying such fabric in Middle Byzantine images surviving from Constantinople (plate 3). Yet, this fabric is almost ubiquitous in Cappadocia, appearing on the outfits of no less than seventeen donors (plates 6 and 11). The identical pattern is also found in the donor

portraits of Armenia and Georgia. For example, Davit III (d. 1000) a *magistros* sculpted on the façade of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Oski wears a cloak of large pearl-bordered roundels enclosing birds and connected by rosettes; underneath he wears a full-length tunic of smaller roundels with palmettes (plate 9). Also on the façade of this church is the *eristav of eristavs*, Bagrat' (d. 966) who is shown in a similar cloak and long tunic both with roundel patterns; his are decorated with floral motifs of heart-shaped leaves.

The turban also played a prominent role in Cappadocian dress. We find turbans on eight portraits in the Cappadocian region. This is especially significant as turbans do not appear in Constantinople until at least the twelfth century and they appear for the first time in documents on court dress in the fourteenth century.<sup>36</sup> The most notable example is the voluminous turban worn by Theodore Metochites in the mosaic of around 1315–20 in the Chora Monastery.<sup>37</sup> Turbans appear in Cappadocian images as early as the eleventh century, however. Literary evidence suggests that turbans were present even earlier, as the ninth-century *vita* of Philaretos the Merciful attests.<sup>38</sup>

In this study, I am using the term “turban” in a general sense to refer to any hat made of wrapped cloth, as opposed to a hat with a substructure covered with fabric or a sewn cap of some kind. Turbans existed in various styles throughout the Islamic, Byzantine, Armenian, and Georgian worlds, but the images that we have here give little indication as to the specific style of each turban; painters merely indicated wrapped fabric with a few painted folds or a tasseled end.

Turbans held religious significance and were connected with national identity in Islam, so it is notable that turbans became part of Cappadocian fashion. Before the rise of Islam, both men and women typically covered their heads; this practice was strengthened with Muslim doctrine in early Islam.<sup>39</sup> The early Umayyad caliphs enacted laws to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims known as *ghiyar*. These inconsistently enforced laws, which probably date to the reign of Umar II (r. 717–20), forbid conquered peoples, certainly Christians and probably Jews, Zoroastrians, and others, from wearing turbans, *taylasan* (a mantle pulled over the head), Arab military uniforms, *qaba* (the relative of the Byzantine caftan), and other robes.<sup>40</sup> Later legends added weight to the importance of the turban in Islamic culture. For example, the Prophet Muhammed supposedly worked as a turban trader in Syria before his epiphany.<sup>41</sup> Islamic writers cited edicts that prohibited Christians from wearing turbans to Umar I (r. 717–20) and Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), but which are now attributed to later traditions.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that writers believed these caliphs would create such a law attests to the power of the turban in the Islamic culture.

In spite of its religious and ethnic connotations, the turban finds its way to the wealthy of Cappadocia via Armenians who don them in their portraits. Within Islam, under the Abbasids, fashion became of interest to an emerging bourgeoisie as well as to courtiers who began to partake in investiture ceremonies, an almost daily occurrence under the Abbasids.<sup>43</sup> Their love of symbolic dress seems to have been infectious, and in turn influenced Armenian court ceremony. While Armenian rulers in the ninth and tenth centuries answered to and were crowned by an *ostikan*, an Islamic governor, who gave them robes of honor (*khil'a*) as well as turbans, it appears that the turban was part of Armenian national dress as well and was not simply a borrowed style from Islam.<sup>44</sup> The turban is believed to have originated in Assyrian culture and spread to Arabs and East Christians,<sup>45</sup> making it a hat that was common beyond the Islamic world. It does not appear that the Byzantines understood themselves to be wearing a specifically Islamic or an Armenian turban, as the headgear seems to only represent more general notions of style and power in the portraits of Cappadocia.

The donor Leon, in Carikli Kilise in Göreme, Cappadocia exhibits the best example of a turban. He wears a long reddish-brownish garment, possibly a caftan, and a white turban, painted to show the crisscross wrapping over the head (plate 6f). The style of this turban parallels the one worn by Gurgen (r. 975–1008), son of King Asot III and Queen Xorovannus, on the façade of the Church of the Holy Seal in Tasir, Armenia, built in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>46</sup> King Gagik of Ani (r. 989–1020) also wears a similar turban on the late tenth-century relief, now lost, on the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator, also an Armenian church.<sup>47</sup> Apparently Byzantine artists closer to the capital viewed the turban as a Muslim garment; in the Menologium of Basil II, the illuminator portrays the Muslims who visit Simeon the Stylite, in turbans nearly identical to Leon's (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 1613, fol. 2r).

John Entalmatikos wears a turban of another type in Karanlik Kilise, an eleventh-century church in Göreme.<sup>48</sup> John's turban is patterned with tassels hanging off the end (plate 6a). Turbans with tassels survive in textile collections today, attesting to this popular type. The Metropolitan Museum of Art owns two turbans from Early Byzantine Egypt that can help us to imagine this type of headgear. One fits over the head with two tails at the back that wrapped around the head to secure the cloth and then tied at the back.<sup>49</sup> A second turban in their collection works similarly but has additional fringe on the ends of the tails that would ornament the back.<sup>50</sup> Probably John Entalmatikos's turban was secured similarly; it clearly has fringe where the turban is knotted.

The female donor at Karabas Kilise, dated to the eleventh century, wears yet another style of turban: a white, squarish-shaped turban with no

evidence of wrapping of the cloth that we have seen in other examples except around her neck (plate 11c). It appears to encircle her neck, acting as a scarf as well. A comparison may be made with the large square-shaped turban worn by Irene Gabras in a miniature of 1067 (St. Petersburg, MS 291, fol. 3r) (plate 11a). This manuscript originated in Koloneia where Irene's husband, Theodore, was a governor.<sup>51</sup> Koloneia was north of Cappadocia, near Trebizond, and bordered Georgia. Her large white turban has a gold embroidered edge that cuts across the front of the turban on a diagonal. A third example can be found on Eudokia, previously described, in the church of St. Daniel (plate 11b). Her turban is smaller than Irene's, but is embroidered sparingly with black geometric designs. While of slightly different sizes and shapes, the three white turbans indicate a trend in this headgear for women.

Michael Skepides, whose portrait sits opposite the apse in Karabas Kilise, exemplifies the Cappadocian dress just examined (plate 6c). He wears a long caftan decorated in blue and yellow roundels encircling birds, his arms accented by embroidered armbands, over a long tunic, and a turban. King Gagik of Kars and his family pictured in the frontispiece of an eleventh-century gospel also wear embroidered armbands, called *tiraz*, a mark of honor given out by the caliphs<sup>52</sup> (Jerusalem, Cathedral of St. James, MS 2556 fol. 135v).

Beginning in the eighth century, caliphs gave *tiraz* to important military and government officials, a practice that became widespread during the ninth to the eleventh centuries under the Abbasid Caliphate.<sup>53</sup> *Tiraz* factories were run by the branch of government in charge of minting coins and taxation, and were considered extremely valuable.<sup>54</sup> Typically these bands combine decorative embroidery with script indicating the caliph's name and sometimes a brief prayer. *Tiraz* were also sewn on to turbans, shawls, and on the fronts of garments.<sup>55</sup> We should not be surprised to see an Armenian king who kept close ties with the caliphate through taxation, land deals, and other tributes, wearing such a gift. Armenian chroniclers describe robing ceremonies where the *ostikan* gives a robe of honor to the Armenian king, which were likely decorated with *tiraz*. For example, an anonymous account of Gagik of Vaspurakan's crowning in 907–08 notes that the *ostikan* "clothed him in a robe embroidered with gold, a girdle and sword shining with golden ornament."<sup>56</sup> *Tiraz* were also manufactured commercially by the eleventh century;<sup>57</sup> these types were strictly decorative and fashionable. Donors are seen wearing them on the walls of the Georgian church of Zemo-K'rixi of the mid-eleventh century.<sup>58</sup>

Evidently *tiraz* became desirable in Cappadocia as well, as we find Michael Skepides wearing them (plate 6c). It is not possible to ascertain whether Skepides's rank of *protospatharios* would have granted him a robe

of honor with *tiraz* from the caliph or whether he wore the commercially produced *tiraz* to mimic his Armenian and Georgian neighbors.

The caftan, *tiraz*, and turban, derive from the Georgian and Armenian dress found in donor portraits just east of Skepides's church. Georgian and Armenian clothing heavily influenced by their Muslim neighbors, remains distinct from Byzantine dress, with the exception of certain rulers who donned the *loros* and/or *chlamys* as symbols of power in the Byzantine state.<sup>59</sup> Skepides, holding the title of *protospatharios*, was a wealthy Byzantine citizen who, we can imagine, wore his best clothes for his portrait. Notably, Skepides's title did not prescribe that he wear certain articles of clothing as it would have at the court of Constantinople. John Entalmatikos, whose name suggests that he was an entrepreneur who did not hold a court title, wears nearly the same outfit as Skepides despite their different vocations<sup>60</sup> (plate 6a). The fashion chosen by Skepides and evidently most others of this region was that of caftan, turban, and *tiraz*, clothing that reflected the mixed culture in which they lived.

In some cases, paintings other than portraits found in Cappadocian churches reflect borderland culture. While this study focuses on portraiture to estimate actual garments worn, some images in Cappadocia bear such striking resemblance to Islamic images as to warrant mention. For example, the figure of a musician has been added to a nativity scene in the church of St. Theodore in Ortahisar, dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century<sup>61</sup> (plate 6e). The figure, evidently dressed as a contemporary rather than biblical figure, wears a simple, white turban, and a long, brown caftan with small circle and diamond shapes on it. He sits cross-legged playing a flute. A remarkably similar figure of a flute player exists at Qusayr Amra, from the second half of the eighth century.<sup>62</sup> The musician at Qusayr Amra wears a similar garment with a pattern also of small circles and diamond shapes, although we cannot tell if it separates at the legs as the musician's at St. Theodore's does. Islamic robes decorated with dots were known as *mu'ayyan* meaning "with eyes," which may be the pattern seen in the Ortahisar and Qusayr Amra examples.<sup>63</sup> This same type of musician can also be seen in Sakli Kilise in Göreme of ca. 1070.<sup>64</sup> Two frescoes of *The Entry into Jerusalem*, seen in Karanlik Kilise and Carikli Kilise (plate 6g), both show men throwing their short caftans down before Christ, incidentally giving us a rare look at what undergarments might have looked like—short, plain, white tunics. Notably both caftans in Carikli Kilise and one in Karanlik Kilise have roundel patterns. A drawing made of a tenth-century fresco in Tehran of a falconer astride a horse exhibits a remarkably similar short caftan that splits to fall over each leg of the rider and has a V to the chest.<sup>65</sup> The roundel pattern is a simplified flower design inside a plain circle that is nearly the same as the simplified leaf or flower with three petals

found on the caftans in our Cappadocian examples. Here the artist obviously found inspiration in the clothing of the locals, as these garments stand out from the biblical clothing of Christ and other figures represented.

### **Kastoria**

Kastoria, situated today in northern Greece, lay outside of the Byzantine borders in Bulgarian territory during part of the Middle Byzantine period. From 1018, when Basil II regained Thrace, Bulgarians continued to live in Kastoria under Byzantine rule and reflected Bulgarian culture among others in this period.<sup>66</sup> Kastoria was also a neighbor of a large population of Georgians and Armenians from the late eighth century on. Around 790, some 12,000 Armenians fled their homeland in fear of Arab raids, many of whom settled in the Balkans especially in the city of Philippopolis.<sup>67</sup> The Georgian population was strong enough in the region that a Georgian monastery, Iveron, opened on Mt. Athos in 979–80 following the arrival of John the Iberian, his son, and Euthymios the Iberian at the Great Lavra in the 960s.<sup>68</sup> Gregory Pacourianus, a member of an important Georgian family who held several titles in the Georgian court, moved to the Balkans in the second half of the eleventh century and established a monastery in Backhovo and several estates throughout the Balkans.<sup>69</sup> Pacourianus's writings mention a wealth of clothing and textiles among other riches in not only his estate and at his monastery, but also as part of his brother's estate in the region.<sup>70</sup> Finally, a third population, Normans, influenced Kastoria as well. For about ten years, Normans occupied Kastoria beginning around 1082. By this time the Normans already occupied much of southern Greece as well.<sup>71</sup> In December 1093, Alexios I regained Kastoria from the Normans.

Despite the apparent turmoil of changing leadership in Kastoria, it remained stable enough to be a trading hub for the region, its population becoming quite wealthy as a result. Given the small size of this city and its remote lakeside location in the mountains, we find a great number of churches survive here. The donor portraits and their accompanying inscriptions attest that the private citizens of Kastoria were wealthy and, like Cappadocians, chose to spend their money on churches and lavish clothing. Five late twelfth-century portraits of donors in secular dress exist in two churches in Kastoria, Hagia Anargyroi and Hagia Nikolaos tou Kasnitze (plates 15 and 16). Not surprisingly, the dress of these citizens embodied local styles differing from dress in the capital.

The men and women in Kastoria each wear unique outfits from one another but with some similar elements (to be discussed later). In the church of Hagia Anargyroi from the first half of the eleventh century,

appears a family of three donors.<sup>72</sup> Theodore Lemniotes offers a model of his church to the *Theotokos*, while his wife, Anna Radene, and adult son (indicated by his beard), John, gesture toward the Virgin (plate 15). Theodore wears a widely cut caftan, once blue colored, fastened at the chest, with *tiraz* bands in gold and black on the arms. Traces remain of a darker blue pattern on the caftan, now indiscernible. A blue tunic appears under the caftan. A brown, red, and black cap sits on his head. However, this cap has an odd square in brownish black over it that looks repainted, making it impossible to discern how his hat once appeared. Behind him, his son is grandly dressed in a green caftan that comes to just below the knee, bordered with gold embroidery and patterned with gold palmettes. John cinches his caftan at the waist with a brown leather belt that has a gold buckle. His sleeves come to his elbow and are also decorated with gold and black *tiraz* bands. Beneath this, he sports a bright red tunic, trimmed with gold and black embroidery seen on the tight cuffs and hem of the garment. Anna Radene, the wife of Theodore Lemniotes, would likely win the best-dressed award in a Kastorian fashion show. She wears a dark purple cloak with a wide border of gold fabric with a lozenge pattern. The lining of the cloak peeks out between the sleeves of her dress: a roundel pattern in dark brown with a foliate and pearl design on a sienna-colored background. Beneath this she wears a red, high-necked dress with pointed sleeves, trimmed in white, which nearly touch the floor. Even her jewelry is exceptional: large basket earrings swing in her wavy blond hair and on her hands she sports no less than fourteen rings! (some fingers have two rings). Her headgear appears to be a white turban with the border of the wrapping crisscrossing in the center, however, another black square has been added to the hat, making it unclear if this is a careless repainting or another type of hat altogether.

In the church of Hagios Nikolaos tou Kaznitze, painted between 1164 and 1191,<sup>73</sup> we find two more elegantly dressed donors (plate 16). Nikephoros Kaznitze, holding a model of his church in donation, wears a three-quarter length blue tunic, with a slit at the bottom bordered in dark red, over tan boots. I do not think that this is a caftan, as there is no opening at the top of the garment as we saw in Cappadocia and because the rendering clearly shows solid fabric falling over a belt around his midriff. He wears a large, gold *tiraz* band with a lozenge pattern that is very similar to that on Theodore Lemniotes's *tiraz*. He caps his head with a small brown beanie. Anna, Nikephoros's wife, outshines her husband in a brocaded cloak in an ornate pattern of brown lozenges over a dark blue background. One shiny, gold *tiraz* band is evident on her right arm. A dark red dress, bordered in white with long pointed sleeves is nearly identical to that of Anna Radene, suggesting a fashion for such a dress. Anna Kaznitze's turban

is white with brown and black embroidery neatly crossing over her crown. The long tasseled end, also with embroidered decoration, possibly *tiraz*, hangs down off the back of her turban and falls over her shoulder.

The sources for these unusual fashions that clearly differ from those in the capital must be addressed. Due to the close proximity of Kastoria to the Bulgarian empire, one expects to find the clothing here to be Bulgarian. However, this is nearly impossible to prove as no portraits survive from Bulgaria until the thirteenth century with which to compare. Significantly, the dress found in these later Bulgarian portraits is nearly identical to that found in Kastoria, evidencing the close ties between these two cultures: For example, the men in the fourteenth-century church of Dolna Kamenica dress like John Lemniotes.<sup>74</sup> Bulgarians appear occasionally in Middle Byzantine art. For example, the Psalter of Basil II shows Bulgarians paying homage to Basil, who triumphs over them in full military gear (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Z 17, fol. 111r) (plate 10). These Bulgarians are dressed in garments with *tiraz* that look especially similar to Theodore Lemniotes caftan as well as Nikephoros Kaznitze's tunic. In the Menologium of Basil II, an image of Bulgarians attacking Christians shows three vastly different outfits, from a double-breasted short caftan to a short tunic decorated with roundels (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 345). While parallels between these garments and those found in Kastoria are tempting to draw, ultimately, these manuscripts are the product of a Byzantine artist living in the capital, who likely had little or no contact with Bulgarians. The Menologium of Basil II, which is discussed at length in chapter 4, is shown to be an unreliable source for dress due to the schematized nature of the garments portrayed. It is impossible to ascertain whether the illuminator of the Psalter of Basil II had better information about Bulgarian dress than the painters of the Menologium of Basil II.

Because Kastoria was Bulgarian for a good part of the Middle Byzantine era, one might think of the people of Kastoria themselves as Bulgarians and therefore quite logically wearing twelfth-century Bulgarian rather than Byzantine dress. However, Theodore Lemniotes, pictured with his wife and son in Hagia Anargyroi, was a local nobleman of Greek, not Bulgarian background. Sixteen dodecasyllabic verses inscribed in his church exhibit typical Greek writing of the well educated in this period.<sup>75</sup> Manolis Chatzidakis also notes the inclusion of two local saints in Lemniotes's church, St. David and St. Theodora of Thessalonike, further suggesting their Greek heritage.<sup>76</sup> Instead, one must consider the cultural milieu.

Remarkably, many of the garments we find in Kastoria are the same as those in Cappadocia, despite their being separated by thousands of miles. We find three figures wearing *tiraz* bands, as in Cappadocia. Anna Kaznitze, and possibly Anna Radene, wear turbans. Anna Radene's cloak is lined in



fabric displaying roundels. John Lemniotes wears a short caftan and his father wears an expansive, outer caftan, not unlike those seen at Selime Kilise (plate 14). Nikephoros Kaznitze's outfit is nearly identical to that worn by Theodore Gabras, in the Koloneian manuscript leaf (St. Petersburg Public Library, MS 291, fol. 2r) even down to the boots (plate 6d). These elements, similar to dress on the eastern borders of the empire, must also derive from the Armeno-Georgians living near Kastoria to the south and east. In fact, the entire outfit of John Lemniotes mirrors the dress described by Eastmond as Georgian court dress.<sup>77</sup> King Demet're I (r. 1125–54) wears a three-quarter length bordered caftan, belted at the waist in his coronation portrait in Macxvarisi of 1140 that is similar to Lemniotes's. The Georgian Prince, Sumbat', shown at the church in At'eni, painted soon after 1089, exhibits a tunic with *tiraz* similar to Nikephoros Kaznitze's.<sup>78</sup> Sumbat's small, tightly fitting cap also recalls Nikephoros's and, from what we can tell, Theodore Lemniotes's headgear. Apparently, turbans were viewed by some as "Iberian" (i.e., Georgian), suggesting that it was they who imported this type of headgear to Thrace. Bishop Eustathios of Thessalonike, quoted earlier chastising David Komnenos's foreign dress, characterizes—and insults—Komnenos's turban further:

He covered his head in the Iberian manner, with a strange red covering. This was a barbarian custom (the barbarians have a special name to designate it), and it was made in this manner: it is formed of many folds which on the flounce fall with little regularity, while in the front it is sufficiently large to protect the face from the sun. Moreover, he did not assume the martial attitude, but he appeared in an effeminate manner in order to escape the rays of the sun.<sup>79</sup>

As in Cappadocia, the Armeno-Georgian clothing obviously had some cache with the Kastorian elite. Whether *tiraz*, turbans and caftans were markers of wealth, good taste, or whether they were sought after because they shook up the established clothing codes found in northern Greece is impossible to say. The population of Armenians and Georgians influencing the locals in Kastoria were a transplanted population who did not rule any bordering regions as they did near Cappadocia; on the other hand, many held titles in their homeland courts and brought great wealth with them to the region, which must have made their clothing desirable for Kastorians.

While the men's garments and the *tiraz* and turbans fit with the Armeno-Georgian styles, the women's dresses do not. There were more choices for the fashion conscious of Kastoria than in Cappadocia, so it is not remarkable to find that women were attracted to different styles than men. Furthermore, no images discussed so far have shown women in dresses—only untailored tunics. Cloaks cover our two Kastorian examples;

however, the long pointy sleeves worn by both women and the tailored high neckline of Anna Radene's garment suggest that they wore dresses and not tunics. Norman women of the eleventh century wore dresses, fitted around the torso with sleeves cut wide at the elbow to create the effect of extensive cuffs falling nearly to the floor.<sup>80</sup> By the twelfth century, the sleeves dominated women's fashions in Western Europe. Matilda of Tuscany models these sleeves in her *Vita* of 1114 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 4922, fol. 7v). We have already seen a similar dress on the ca. twelfth-century sculpture of the Frankish Queen Clotilde, mentioned in chapter 1. Sleeves in Western fashions literally grew to such an extent that by the mid-twelfth century, women knotted their cuffs to avoid dirtying them on the ground.<sup>81</sup>

These female portraits in Kastoria also exhibit Western influence simply in their difference from male portraits. Women and men in Cappadocia wore the same caftans, turbans, and cloaks, and often in the same patterns. There is evidence that women in the capital wore the *chlamys*, as discussed in chapter 1. Empresses, of course, wore the clothing of their male counterparts. However, this is not the case in the West. There was more variety in the clothing of Western men; gender difference was easily recognizable.<sup>82</sup> Here too, this is the case; the Kastorian women stand out from their husbands and all Byzantines in their stunning, tailored garments.

Western influence on Byzantine clothing is rare in the Middle Byzantine period, during which time the textiles of the Eastern Empire along with Islam dominated the textile industry. Otto II, in Germany, donned Byzantine dress as he received a blessing from Christ with his Byzantine wife in his ivory of 982. The precious clothes worn by the Kings of Norman Sicily imitated Byzantine emperors. The medieval West did not manufacture any silks until Roger II of Sicily instituted silk workshops in his kingdom in the mid-twelfth century. To launch this venture, Roger II used Islamic and Byzantine skilled labor until Westerners could learn the workings of the silk industry. As a result, before Roger II's time, most Western European people wore clothes made of wool,<sup>83</sup> less common in the Byzantine empire, while silk garments, which were fashionable in the East, became highly coveted at the courts of those who could afford them. The women at Charlemagne's court (r. 768–814) donned garments of Byzantine silk even though Charlemagne discouraged their use.<sup>84</sup> Charlemagne also could not keep silks away from monks, who sewed strips of the imported silk onto their habits.<sup>85</sup>

It is remarkable then that Normans who settled in Kastoria brought fashions with them, which evidently became popular among the women in this borderland. It should be noted, however, that the evidence for this Norman influence on Kastorian dress postdates the Norman acquisition of

the skills necessary for manufacturing silk; fashion was likely affected by this major advancement in the Norman textile industry enabling them to produce more desirable clothing.<sup>86</sup>

Long-sleeved tailored dresses appear in two eleventh-century manuscripts (Coislin 79, fol. 1v and Vat. Gr. 752, fol. 449v) of the capital and four twelfth-century images—portrait of the Empress Irene in Hagia Sophia and three folios from Vat. Gr. 1851 (fols. 3v, 6v, and 7v) (plates 5 and 12). However, the Dance of Miriam image is not a portrait, but rather a biblical story of dancing women; it has been hypothesized that this image represents court dress of the time,<sup>87</sup> but there is no evidence to support this. Coislin 79 and Vat. Gr. 1851 are both images of Western empresses who married into the Byzantine court and Vatican Gr. 1851 was likely commissioned by a Westerner at the court, further supporting the Western origins of these sleeves. It is not until the Late Byzantine period that we find the sleeves have become widespread in Constantinople. The twelfth-century image of Empress Irene in Hagia Sophia is the first image showing a woman of Byzantine origin in the capital wearing such a dress. The majority of empresses are not shown in similar dresses until the late era, such as the Empress Helena shown with Manuel II and their children in the writings of Dionysios the Areopagite (Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 416, fol. 2r) or the wife of Alexios III on a chrysobull of 1374 now in the Dionysiou Monastery on Mt. Athos. The elite of Constantinople also wore these distinctive sleeves by the late period, as seen on all five of the women pictured in lay dress in the Lincoln Typikon (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gr. 35 fol. 8r).<sup>88</sup> Kastoria, because it was on the borders of the Byzantine State, was closer to outside influences of transplanted Armenian, Georgian, Norman, and Bulgarian populations. A culturally mixed area like Kastoria provided a breeding ground for the crosspollination of styles, something not as easily achieved in homogeneously Greek regions where clothing of other cultures would be perceived as “ethnic” and, therefore, undesirable.

### **The Textile Industry in the Borderlands**

Their borderland locations alone cannot explain the diverse dress that appears in Kastoria and Cappadocia. A multicultural population provided a variety of fashion sources by which the local aristocracy was evidently inspired, but this was not the only factor contributing to the intense interest in fashions of the borders. Kastoria and Cappadocia were both in proximity to major textile trade routes. For example, the renowned Fair of St. Demetrios was held annually on the outskirts of Thessalonike.

Any player in the textile industry came to this weeklong trade show. In the work *Timarion*, of ca. 1110, the fair is described as having, “all kinds of fabric and thread of men’s and women’s garb.”<sup>89</sup> Merchants came from all over the empire and well beyond its borders to attend the event. The first Crusade brought Bohemund (1052–1111), Prince of Antioch, and his troops to Kastoria in 1096, followed by waves of crusaders over the next few years, who attempted to trade with Kastorians.<sup>90</sup> The war between Symeon of Bulgaria and Leo VI beginning in 894 prompted more trade in the region by moving Bulgarian markets out of Constantinople and into Thessalonike.<sup>91</sup> During the peace that followed several towns prospered into lucrative trading posts along the Bulgarian–Byzantine border.<sup>92</sup>

Cappadocia held a similar position in Anatolia and lay along the famed Silk Road that extended from the Far East into Europe. These routes were ancient, dating back to the Hittites, and still hold commercial textile centers today. The Byzantines added to these ancient roads, building a network of *caravanserais* that was later extended by the Seljuks. Kayseri and Nevsehir, Cappadocian cities, were major stops along the southern Anatolian route.<sup>93</sup> The Silk Road also had a route through northern Anatolia along the Black Sea. The northern and southern roads were connected through smaller routes crossing Cappadocia on the north–south axis.

Clothing and cloth, of course, need not be acquired from traveling merchants but could be made at home. Slots for five to six looms survive in one settlement in Cappadocia where cloth was surely woven, namely in Selime.<sup>94</sup> In one of the domestic spaces dug into the floor are two seats, with holes alongside where a horizontal loom could have been placed over the legs of the sitter. Illuminations attest to women sitting on or in the ground weaving, as in the book of Job (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 134, fol. 184v, r). A pit loom was sufficient for making cloth for clothing, small wall hangings and other furnishings, and linens. (Larger looms with greater pattern making devices would have been used for complex designs and broad wall hangings).<sup>95</sup> Perhaps the set of fabulous matching caftans worn by the donors in Selime Kilise was made at home. When creating one’s own clothing, one would likely base one’s patterns on clothing worn locally, rather than attempt to copy styles worn in the distant capital, if they were known at all.

### Conclusions

The dress of Byzantines on the borders can truly be called fashion. People dressed out of desire, rather than for tradition. The clothing found on the borders, while reflecting dress found in other cultures, was not considered

“ethnic” in these multinational micro-societies. The clothing represented in the portraits of the local aristocracy imitated that of the local elite, whether it was Georgian or Armenian princes, Islamic Emirs, or Norman rulers and their families. These diverse garments survive in portraits where textile trade was significant at the very least. The wealthy in these regions had the means to buy textiles and clothing from international fairs, or merchants from distant lands. In some cases, the elite very likely made their own clothing.

The styles found here, particularly turbans and sleek Western dresses, did find their way to the capital city, but sometimes not until centuries after their introduction to these border regions. This may be attributed in part to the slow movement of trends in the medieval world. More likely, however, the difference in dress between the capital and the provinces suggests an alternate reception of ethnic dress in the capital. In Constantinople, the clothing was seen as foreign and part of the culture from which it originally came. It may have even been associated with a religion that was not orthodox or not Christian, in the case of Islamic dress. Traditional, Greek clothing was preferred and thought to be superior, as a tenth-century incident at the gates of the city attests. When Liudprand of Cremona tried to leave Constantinople with some silks he was stopped by guards who said, “And since we think that you have bought some cloaks. . .we order them now to be produced. Those that are fit for you shall be marked with a leaden seal and left in your possession; those that are prohibited to all nations, except to us Romans, shall be taken away and their price returned.”<sup>96</sup> The provincial aristocracy on the other hand did not view un-Roman garments as ethnically charged but rather as part of the material culture of the borderlands.

What we normally think of as the periphery, in terms of fashion at least, played a role that was central to the Byzantine fashion system. Because of their locations on borderlands, Kastorians and Cappadocians had other sources of inspiration for their fashionable dress. Their locations also meant that they were situated near the heart of the institutions that imported and created fashions, which in medieval Byzantium were not centralized in Constantinople. Scholars often discuss the “imperial silk workshops” without delving into what was made there and who had access to those items. In fact the only silks with definitive inscriptions linking them to an imperial workshop are not clothes, but banners.<sup>97</sup> The clothing found in Cappadocia and Kastoria suggests that clothes were manufactured outside of the empire or at its borders and then brought to the capital; thus we see certain fashions emerge on the geographical periphery of the empire first. The finds at Moscevaja Balka, discussed in chapter 5, reinforce this paradigm, as garments—not textiles—were headed toward the capital from Central Asia.

It is not hard to imagine a *caravanserai* hub such as Cappadocia as a first stop for many imports.

The availability of clothing coupled with the associations linking turbans and the like with the ruling class of Armenians, Georgians, and Normans gave these garments prestige. The desire for this dress drove the fashion for dresses, turbans, and other unusual garments, leaving us with images of a stylish aristocracy on the borders of the Byzantine Empire.

## CHAPTER 4

### NON-ELITE DRESS

Relatively little can be known about the dress of the working class and poor of the Byzantine Empire: their portraits were not painted, their outfits were not described by historians of the day, and the surviving Byzantine textiles in museum collections today were surely beyond their means. However, anonymous farmers, soldiers, beggars, and fishermen do appear in manuscript illuminations standing as a backdrop to more important figures and sometimes these figures adorn common pieces of pottery. Masses of people color the background of rebellion scenes, parades, and other subjects of historical importance. Byzantine writers occasionally describe the poor if only to point out the charity of an emperor or saintly figure, and we read brief descriptions of foot soldiers' simple armor in the stories of the emperor's brave acts. These representations and textual references allow us to reconstruct the Byzantine perception of the poor and working class while providing sketchy information on how they actually dressed.

The method used throughout this book—the analysis of painted and written portraits—must be abandoned here as no such information survives for non-elite Byzantines. Therefore, to uncover the dress of non-elites, different methods must be used, which are notably perilous. The primary group of images of the working class survives in manuscript illumination. Manuscripts present us with three problems: first, the images may be the product of artistic fancy; second, the colorful images of non-elites are usually stock figures likely targeted at the wealthy who commissioned and read these luxury books; third, artists likely used model books or other manuscripts, which were not necessarily contemporaneous, thereby reusing figures and their dress from other periods. Little painting can be found in Middle Byzantine art that would not be considered to have an elite audience but manuscripts are particularly tricky because they require a literate viewer and they were expensive to produce so they were not widely seen.

Another group of images of non-elites appear in wall paintings and mosaics found in churches, especially those in Cappadocia. Fresco and mosaic in churches have their problems too, however, the subjects are most often biblical rather than historical secular images, such as those belonging to a contemporary romance, such as *Barlaam and Joasaph* (Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, MS 463). As is often the case, the working-class and middle-class figures depicted in painted churches may be anachronistically dressed biblical figures. That is, the figures wear Roman or pseudo-Roman clothing such as togas.

Turning to written evidence presents us with further problems in exploring the dress of non-elites. Histories and saints' lives, which also describe everyday citizens, often cannot be used to corroborate or dispel the problematic images found in painting because they too typically simplify non-elites in service to their stories and characters. For example, authors exaggerated the description of a beggar or the armor of an enemy to make a saint appear more charitable or an emperor more heroic.

Nevertheless, a picture of Byzantine secular dress from the eighth to the twelfth centuries cannot be accurately drawn without some attempt to comment on the clothing of non-elites. Therefore, the images examined in this chapter are analyzed less for the clothing that they represent and more for the label presented, that is, farmer, shepherd, hunter, etc. A typology of the working class and their dress can be discerned in the background figures of manuscript illuminations and in some church decoration. Therefore, this chapter analyzes a set of dress codes used to signify different groups in Byzantine society. The dress codes used by artists are of a semi-otic system of dress, much like the prescribed clothing of court, conveying profession, gender, age, and locale to the audience. As with court dress, it will be also shown that fashion slips into the non-elite dress code.

The categories defined by Byzantine artists are largely related to occupation, such as farmer, and these occupations fall into the middle and lower classes. A few groups will also be discussed that are not defined by an occupation—women, children, and the poor—because Byzantine artists similarly used dress to create a visual shorthand for these categories. The illuminations and wall paintings used in this chapter were culled from the corpus of Middle Byzantine painting to find a small number of non-elite subjects; those images that were known to be copied from an earlier image or those that used anachronistically dressed figures were weeded out, which narrowed the images examined considerably. In the final count, sixteen manuscripts and only a handful of churches meet these criteria and are discussed in this chapter.

The standardized outfits found within this group of paintings give insight into the perceptions of Byzantine non-elites and how artists used



these stock images as part of their iconography. Furthermore, in an examination of standardized figures, the unique and unusual figures become clearer. Deviations from the norm witness a range of garments possibly worn by non-elites and it is in these images that one may find clothing drawn outside of the Byzantine class codes. Similarly, some *vita* avoid the tropes that often dictate descriptions of poor and working-class dress. Like the paintings, these passages stand out from the schematic descriptions typically used. This chapter aims to tease out the apparent stock characters found in paintings and address their meaning and purpose in art, especially manuscript illumination. In addition, both literary and visual works that deviate from the norm will be examined in effort to establish a body of dress that was available to non-elites.

Before beginning it is essential to define what is meant by the term non-elite. Non-elite was chosen because it is a general term and it is in opposition to elites—the imperial entourage, courtiers, and aristocracy. To use the Byzantine's term, the elites are the *dynatoi* (powerful), in other words wealthy landowners and/or those who held office. Without getting into a debate about the exact definition of aristocracy in medieval Byzantium, suffice it to say that the aristocracy were able to obtain any clothes they desired without financial constraints and they are represented individually in art so that we can study their portraits and therefore, their clothing. Non-elites by contrast constituted an enormous group of people who ranged in class from shop owners and salaried lower-ranking military personnel down to the homeless. In a modern sense non-elites constitute the poor, lower, and middle classes; in Byzantine terminology non-elites are *douloi* (slaves), *oiketai* (domestic servants), *paroikoi* (peasants), and *mesoi* (middle class). Most important for this study, non-elites are those who are not represented in art to the degree that elites were, certainly never as individuals. Furthermore, while some who are considered non-elites had money for clothing, they were not unlimited in their purchases of clothing or textiles. In the typology that follows, non-elites are divided into categories based on their social position, often connected to their trade. In other words, the poor are typified differently in painting than laborers and soldiers; the stereotypical image of a country dweller is distinguished from a city resident. Women and children are also discussed in this chapter even though we would not consider these categories a class of course. While elite women and children existed, most women and children fall into the definition of non-elites: they were not represented in art as individuals save for imperial women and the portraits discussed in chapter 3, where we only see women half as often as men (47 men are pictured compared to only 22 women in Middle Byzantine portraits). The only Middle Byzantine portraits of children that exist are those in the Church of St. Demetrios in

Thessalonike. Furthermore, the non-portrait images of children and women found in Byzantine painting exhibit a standardization of their dress paralleling depictions of other non-elites.

### Descriptions of the Poor in Literature

The poor are perhaps the most standardized non-elites in images and text, making it a good place to begin this inquiry. The lives of saints speak more to the dress of the average Byzantine than any other type of visual or textual evidence. Many of these *vitae* introduce a destitute person to highlight the aid given by the charitable saint. For example, it was written of Thomais of Lesbos that “one could see her each day abundantly supplying gifts to the poor: clothing the naked and giving those in rags splendid clothes.”<sup>1</sup> While little information can be gleaned about the clothing itself, a shortage of clothing for the poor was clearly a societal problem. Dozens of Middle Byzantine sources mention donations of clothing to the poor. Writers commonly describe these poor of the empire, not simply dressed in ragged clothing but plainly naked. The problem is present in historical texts as well, where we find empresses and emperors clothing the destitute. Irene Doukaina (1081–1118), wife of Alexios I, “. . .gave liberally to all beggars, clad in goat-hair cloaks or naked.”<sup>2</sup>

While nearly all saints and several imperial figures worked to clothe the poor, it was common for female saints to not only give clothing but to make it as well. Thomais of Lesbos’s “hands labored for the sake of the poor and wove tunics for the naked.”<sup>3</sup> St. Theodora of Thessalonike, a ninth-century saint, used all her energy to make clothing: “And when [she could] no longer [do] even this, she set her hands to the spindle; and preparing and spinning the very coarse fibers of flax that had been rejected and the useless wool tossed into the dung heaps, she would make bags.”<sup>4</sup> By contrast, men gave the clothing off their backs. Niketas Choniates describes the charity of Kosmas, a deacon from Aigina:

He was so eager to demonstrate his pity for mankind that he gave the indigent his cloak, sometimes the tunic that covered his body, and his linen-covered headdress, as well as providing beggars and those who collected alms for the needy with goods from his own dwelling.<sup>5</sup>

Spinning and weaving were acceptable labors for a woman of any class, but was rarely a job for a man, so we should not find this difference surprising.<sup>6</sup>

Saints’ lives paint a picture of a large population of poor people in rags, or at worst naked. The prominence of charitable acts involving clothing implies that this societal ill was widespread. The limited sources on poverty

indicate that the homeless congregated in cities dressed in rags and the working poor could only get new clothes annually.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, however, surviving Byzantine images of the poor do not illustrate the extreme poverty referred to in historical texts or saints' lives.

### Images of the Poor

Beggars and other destitute people are shown in artworks clothed and wearing shoes, certainly not the picture given in the corpus of Middle Byzantine *vitae*. *The Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, because there are several Middle Byzantine copies and so much attention was paid to the poor in the text, provides several appropriate illustrations. Three categories of illuminated versions of this manuscript exist: complete sets of all forty-five homilies, abridged liturgical homilies with sixteen sermons each, and commentaries on the homilies.<sup>8</sup> For this study, only the so-called invented miniatures were used because they were created by the painters for the Homilies in the medieval period; the prototypes for these invented paintings, according to George Galavaris are of the tenth century and were made for the Gregory text, as opposed to being based on a Gospel or Menologium image.<sup>9</sup>

While in the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Gregory describes the poor as "a miserable and terrible sight. . . dead men who are yet alive,"<sup>10</sup> yet in six manuscript illuminations of Gregory giving alms to the poor only two show the poor without shoes and in scant clothing<sup>11</sup> (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 550, fol. 51r and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, MS Taphou 14, fol. 265r) (plate 17). In these two illuminations we find two men begging who have no shoes and have one shoulder left bare by the cloth that barely covers them. However, they stand among a crowd of poor men dressed in tunics, shoes or boots, and leggings. Most of the illuminations of the poor in the various versions of the Homilies show the poor surprisingly well dressed. For example, Gregory and the poor in the Sinai version (Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS Gr. 339, fol. 341v) show the poor in both short and long tunics, many with sturdy boots. Two of these "wretched" men, to use Gregory's term, even have striped leggings that can only be described as elegant. In these illustrations, the cane, carried by several of the men to indicate their handicapped status, and the stooped posture must be understood to signify their poverty. On occasion, a blind man is shown feeling his way to the feet of Gregory. However, their dress, beyond the fact that it is plainly decorated and short in most cases, gives no indication that these men are poor.

Other manuscripts follow this code of poverty. The Esphigmenou Menologium made in the eleventh century, contains pastoral scenes with

stereotypical shepherds playing instruments with bare legs and brightly colored undecorated tunics<sup>12</sup> (Mount Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery, MS 14, fol. 386r). A gospel book from the Laurentian Library illustrates a scene from Matthew (Matt. 14–19) in which Christ cures a group of possessed people, who stand out from the crowd of bystanders in their wild hair and comparably scanty tunics (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Gospel Book, fol. 15v).<sup>13</sup>

The textual descriptions of the destitute are, of course, intended to highlight the virtues of the alms giver and must be understood in this context. The more wretched the beggar, the more charitable the saint who helped him. Nevertheless, we cannot discount these mentions of the poor as exaggerations and take the neatly dressed poor found in illuminations as fact instead. In part, these illuminations were made to be beautiful. Beyond their didactic purpose of illustrating the text, these paintings are artworks of considerable aesthetic value. The illuminator, or his patron, wanted to keep the impoverished attractive with colorful clothing. Aspects of their outfits, such as the shortness of their tunics or their canes, acted as signifiers of poverty. Byzantine artists wanted to convey the idea of poverty while maintaining a colorful composition. It is widely thought that illuminators used model books or other manuscripts, which were not necessarily contemporaneous, and probably perpetuated these stock figures. As examinations of other works show, most Byzantine painters used clothing as a code to represent a type—a sailor, a performer, a farmer—while also using clothing as a decorative element.

### Laborers

Farmers, shepherds, fishermen, and on occasion, builders are the laborers who were most often depicted in Byzantine art. We find that these types are defined in Byzantine painting by the tools of their trade in addition to their short tunics, typical of representations of the working class. *The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* in pastoral scenes, historiated initials, and marginal illustrations contains many examples of laborers. For example, a shepherd plays a flute, a bird catcher sets his traps, a vintner tends his vines, and a fisherman casts his line, all in short, solid colored tunics with sandals strapped around their shins<sup>14</sup> (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 533, fol. 34). A particular homily is not depicted in these scenes, which often only illustrate a single word in the text. According to Galavaris, these figures and those of the poor just discussed, have no direct prototypes in Byzantine manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that images like these are the invention of medieval artists. However, we do find shepherds with single-shoulder short tunics and farmers with tunics tucked into their belts as early as the

Early Byzantine era. These tunics signify, at the very least, a shorthand used to identify stock characters, if not figures based on prototypes not yet discovered. One example from the early period shows similar clothing: a sixth-century ivory panel of Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul features three figures harvesting wheat in similar one-shouldered tunics drawn up to the belt on either side.<sup>16</sup> It is entirely possible that there was little change in clothing of the working class from Early to the Middle Byzantine period, however, as manuscripts were known to be copied from earlier artistic models, the use of a prototype is more likely.

The short tunic is made in some manuscripts to look more up-to-date as in the mid-eleventh-century gospel book from the Bibliothèque National (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 74, fol. 39v). Here, in an image of the Parable of the Vineyard, the men tilling the vines are shown in short tunics decorated at the hem, cuffs, and collar in gold embroidery. Images like this one, though still standardized, exhibit silk embroidered decoration, fashionable in the medieval period, pointing to either a Middle Byzantine prototype or an innovative illuminator. Again here, the dress serves both as representative of the working class and decoration for the illumination itself.

However, not all figures of the working class are slavish copies from earlier art or ridiculously luxurious for the status of the wearer. Medieval Cappadocian churches provide many examples of working-class types in biblical scenes that appear to be in contemporary dress; the Cappadocian paintings are unusual among Middle Byzantine painted churches that depict minor figures either in biblical dress or not at all.<sup>17</sup> In two churches, the figure of Joseph in *The Flight into Egypt* stands out from Mary and the Christ child by wearing not only contemporary dress, rather than what the Byzantines deemed biblical dress, but also working-class garments. The Church of Saint Barbara in Göreme, from the end of the tenth century, contains a well-dressed Joseph in a short, v-necked brown tunic, trimmed in black at the collar and hem, with a roundel pattern in yellow.<sup>18</sup> In the church of St. Theodore in Ortahisar, discussed in chapter 3, Joseph, leading the donkey on which his family rides, dresses in a short, brown v-necked tunic, tied at the midriff, decorated with a white pattern of circles within circles (plate 18). His tunic hangs over white leggings, painted with argyles in blue and gray, and black boots. Perhaps the artist was allowed greater artistic license in the rendering of secular figures who were secondary to Christ and the Virgin. These images could be portraits of medieval Cappadocians whose identities are now lost to us, maybe even the artists themselves. At the very least, these figures seemed plucked from daily life of Middle Byzantine Cappadocia evidenced in the textiles and styles of dress represented.

The clothing found on these secondary figures in Cappadocian churches is distinctly medieval in both style and pattern. The scarf around the chest worn by Joseph in Ortahisar is not seen in art before the Middle Byzantine era when it proliferates.<sup>19</sup> The patterns found on these clothes are in keeping with surviving textiles. The hose seen on Joseph at Ortahisar have a lozenge or argyle pattern, similar to the actual Byzantine silk in brown and white at the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>20</sup> Whether or not textiles such as these were affordable for a typical laborer is difficult to say, but likely the dress chosen by the Cappadocian painters serves to brighten and ornament the scene to some degree while serving as a signifier of their class.

### Hunters

Hunters and trappers represent another group of working class, distinguished from the laborers just discussed because they are typically shown wearing fur. Hunting was certainly a leisure activity of the upper classes, attested to by the many images and literary references to hunting.<sup>21</sup> Outside of sport and recreation, hunting provided food, protected livestock in the countryside where wild animals could be a significant threat and hunters were able to obtain fur for trade. In a noisy scene in pseudo-Oppian's *Cynegetica* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Z 479, fol. 56v) illustrated in the late tenth- early eleventh century a hunter in a fur hat strides forth to save a fellow hunter apparently being bitten by a trapped beast while barking dogs encircle them and a third trapper stabs his snarling prey ensnared in a net (plate 19). The *Cynegetica*, written in early third-century Syria, documents the habits of both domesticated and wild animals and teaches hunting and trapping skills.<sup>22</sup> The dress of the figures runs the gamut from long tunics, to nudity, to fur hats, showing a diversity of working-class garments not ordinarily seen in Middle Byzantine art. The men in this scene wear medieval patterned hose and chest tie over short tunics, seen in the clothing of other working-class types. Notably, the central figure wears a fur hat. Another hunter, this time mounted on a horse, wears a fur hat as well (Ven. Mar. Z 479, fol. 11v). The use of a horse may imply that this hunter is of a higher class, although the accompanying poem does not make his class clear. In another illuminated version of the *Cynegetica* in Paris, two hunters wear entire outfits of fur, likely cloaks of some sort while they attempt to subdue a lion with a third man (Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS Gr. 2736, fol. 60v).

A final *Cynegetica* image shows two horse breeders, one in a fur hat (Ven. Mar. Z 479, 12r). Notably, these men are not hunters, suggesting that fur can signify something broader than the occupation of hunter. In other manuscripts, we find instances of fur hats on common people who

also are not specifically hunters. For example, in the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* we find a group of men lining up to pay their taxes in an array of short plain-colored tunics, signifying their working-class status as opposed to Julian the tax collector and the other bureaucrats who wear full-length, brocaded tunics and hats. One among this group of taxpayers wears a fur hat. The wearing of fur in these two images possibly connotes a country dweller, whose identity could easily be conflated with that of a hunter in the Byzantine world, as rural areas were the domain of hunters. Rural communities living together in a *chorion*, a village unit who paid taxes collectively, were an important part of the tax base of the Middle Byzantine Empire<sup>23</sup> and are appropriately distinguished in a scene of taxation. Fur indicated a rural person, who had to contend with wild animals as part of daily life often in his capacity as a hunter.

The most well-known wearer of fur in Byzantine art is John the Baptist who is typically shown wearing a monk's cloak made of fur. He was held up as the ideal monk and a role model for ascetics. Often his fur cloak looks rough and worn, more like a pelt than a garment, to express the idea of the Baptist's asceticism. Here we should imagine coarse fur that was scratchy and uncomfortable to wear, typically conveyed by the long, shaggy hairs shown in images of the Baptist (see, e.g., *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Ms. 39, fol. 197v). In addition to serving as a code for country folk, fur also signified frugality and simplicity associated with ascetic monks.

Because fur is, of course, part of a hunter's livelihood, it is fitting dress for a hunter. But, by modern standards fur seems far too expensive an item for a *choriates* (village dweller) or trapper to wear. When the imperial treasury was pillaged during the Fourth Crusade, "it included. . . mantles of squirrel fur, ermine and miniver. . ." <sup>24</sup> Fur was part of the wardrobe of elites as noted in a will of 1093 of Symbatios Pakourianos, a *curopalates*, and his wife Kale that lists a garment with white fur. <sup>25</sup> While most mentions of the fur trade belong to the Late Byzantine era, furs were traded in the capital as early as the sixth century. <sup>26</sup>

Contrary to the image of fur as a luxury item, the mention of fur in literature is typically used when describing foreigners, and often pejoratively. Theophanes (ca. 760–817) describes the Arab ruler Umar (r. 634–44) entering Jerusalem in a "filthy camel-hair garment." <sup>27</sup> The only mentions of fur in the *Book of Ceremonies* describe the dress of foreigners, for example, Goths. <sup>28</sup> The xenophobic Byzantines often maligned certain foreigners; it is telling that wearing fur was used for negative characterizations. Westerners seem to have a similar bias; Robert of Clari notes that a tribe of Turks attempting to invade Adrianople at the beginning of the thirteenth century were regarded by the Latin armies as no more a threat than

“children” because they wore sheepskins.<sup>29</sup> The fur described in these examples is not luxurious ermine or mink, rather it is simpler and rougher. It is significant that the poor are often described as wearing goat hair, a fur worn out of necessity or asceticism that could irritate the skin, as Anna Komnenos mentions beggars in goat hair, quoted earlier. Again, this type of fur recalls representations of John the Baptist. Perhaps it is the link between fur and other so-called barbarian peoples that marginalized fur clothing. While the status of fur may be somewhat ambiguous in the sources, it appears that artists used fur clothing to signify men who hunted and trapped, or at least lived in the countryside.

Bird catchers, while also hunters in a sense, are shown in different garb. We have already seen one image of a bird catcher among other laborers in a pastoral scene from *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* (Mount Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, MS 6, fol. 37v). The bird catcher is dressed in the codified short tunic and sandals, rather than boots, in this case. Bird catchers are also represented in the *Cynegetica* twice (Ven. Mar. Z 479, fols. 2v and 13r). In one image, six men hunt and trap birds in red and blue short tunics (plate 20). Interestingly, the illuminator illustrates an array of styles within the working-class paradigm. Some of the men wear small slipper-like shoes while the others are in bare feet. The decoration on each man’s tunic is placed in a variety of locations: on the collars, hems, cuffs, or not at all. The man bending over in the center even has keyhole-shaped embroidery extending up from the hem. Many of these men work in tunics that have fitted sleeves, while the man in the tree on the right has short, wide sleeves on his garment. In folio 2v, the bird catcher wears yet another type of outfit: a long tunic with a diamond shaped pattern over boots and topped with a white bulbous hat, perhaps meant to signal that he is of a higher class.

The variety of garments here seems more suggestive of real life and is seen on all types of figures represented in the text: hunters, farmers, fishermen, bird catchers, artisans, and others. Because the *Cynegetica* was primarily a hunting manual, the illuminators of Middle Byzantine versions of the text represent animals for the most part. Nevertheless, a wide range of human activities is depicted as well. Notably, in what appear to be portrayals of upper-class types in the *Cynegetica*, the illuminators depicted details of clothing and styles not seen in the majority of Byzantine representations of citizens of any class. An exemplary image depicts several men taking respite from hard work, wearing short tunics but each wears his differently (Ven. Mar. Gr. Z 479, fol. 21r) (plate 21). On the left a man plucks fruit from a tree in a sleeveless short tunic that only covers one shoulder. A man lies beneath that tree in a short tunic that drapes over the shoulders falling halfway down the arms but has no sewn sleeves. He wears leggings decorated with argyles and socks. A servant, in a short-sleeved belted tunic and



boots, fans this man, indicating his higher class despite his short tunic. Still another man wears his short tunic tucked up into a belt. One man rests just after a swim in the river without any clothing; his tunic hangs over a tree to his left.

An ivory carver in another illumination works his tusk in a long sleeved white tunic with stripes on the arms and a long, sleeveless dark over-tunic despite the lower status of craftsmen in Byzantine society (Ven. Mar. Z 479, fol. 36r). The illuminator, obviously interested in the accurate portrayal of animals, did not concern himself with class distinctions; rather he drew a range of figures in what must constitute the array of clothing seen everyday in the Byzantine world.

### Soldiers

Soldiers were men of modest means in Byzantine society who, it seems, were sometimes expected to outfit themselves.<sup>30</sup> A soldier in the Byzantine army, unless he was of high rank, did not wear armor, and no matter what his position was, probably did not wear a uniform. Infantry soldiers wore the same clothes as laborers, short tunics, cloaks, and boots, but with added thickness to protect themselves to the extent that they could when they could not afford armor. Armor is only briefly described here, as the development of armor is less about fashion and more about the technology of war and metalwork. The biblical Joshua, depicted on the wall dividing the Church of St. Barbara from the Panagia Church at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, can give us some idea of what Middle Byzantine armor looked like.<sup>31</sup> He wears a leather and chain mail top called a *thorax*, a helmet, and a leather fighting skirt, known as a *pteryges*, over a tunic, leggings, and boots.<sup>32</sup> The *Cynegetica* contains examples of cavalry soldiers (Ven. Mar. Z 479, fol. 6v).<sup>33</sup> Here the soldiers, in *thoraxes* and helmets, charge each other on horseback, weapons drawn. Armor was used by cavalymen but was not typical for foot soldiers;<sup>34</sup> often there was not enough armor to adequately protect everyone. About the rebels who rose up against Constantine IX Monomachos, Michael Psellos tells us that,

On the one hand they completely armed themselves with greaves and thoraxes and their horses stood covered in mail, on the other hand others were armed with whatever they could get themselves.<sup>35</sup>

Anna Komnenos notes that “In some cases he [Alexius] even made cuirasses and caps out of silken garments, since there was insufficient iron for all, and the silk resembled iron in colour.”<sup>36</sup>

While a soldiers’ garb is usually referred to in the sources as a *schema* (σχῆμα), that is, a uniform, there is no evidence for a military uniform or

even unifying colors. Three military texts published together by George Dennis each devote space to the proper gear for battle; none of these texts mentions a unifying article of clothing or color for a soldier at any level, nor does the *Præcepta Militaria*.<sup>37</sup> In fact these treatise imply that soldiers had to procure their own clothing and armor. Army personnel are advised to obtain the strongest armor that should “not be worn directly over ordinary clothing, as some do to keep down the weight of the armor, but over a garment at least a finger thick.”<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the imperial baggage train that accompanied all imperial military expeditions does not mention uniforms in its long list of clothing that was brought for the army.<sup>39</sup> John Haldon in his analysis of the status of soldiers finds that saints’ lives also demonstrate that soldiers were not given any equipment by the Byzantine military.<sup>40</sup>

The pictorial sources that contain images of the lowest-ranking soldiers are surprisingly rich. The Menologium of Basil II (Vat. Gr. 1613) exemplifies the portrayal of soldiers and class in general through clothing codes. The Menologium, made sometime after 979 for Basil II, should be more appropriately called a *synaxarion*, as it contains short biographies of the saints in calendrical order from September to February, rather than full *vitae* found in a true *menologium*. The codex is an extremely large manuscript with an illumination for nearly every page, 430 in total, and precisely sixteen lines devoted to the saint below each painting.<sup>41</sup> Five types of people are represented in the Menologium: saints, the soldiers who martyr them, emperors and empresses, aristocrats, and foreigners. The saints, dressed for the most part in ecclesiastical or monastic garb, will not be of concern here. The deliberately ethnic clothing of foreigners, imperial dress, and that of the upper classes, have been addressed in previous chapters and are only used for comparison to the large body of working-class men represented in the images of soldiers. Nearly every saint represented is depicted in the course of his or her martyrdom whether it be beheading, burning, or some other brutal death. The soldiers that carry out these acts play at least as important a role as the saints themselves. Their glorious clothes, which often outshine those of their more modest adversaries, underline their leading part in this manuscript.

It should be noted that the soldiers of the Menologium are not engaged in battle, which could explain their lack of armor. As we have seen, armor was unusual for the infantry and the role of executioner shown in this manuscript was the job of the foot soldier. The typical soldier in The Menologium of Basil II wears a short tunic, belted at the waist, over leggings, and boots. The sword he carries tells the viewer that he is a military man. Two soldiers shown beating St. Acepstimas are good examples (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 157) (plate 22). The saint cowers next to Joseph and

Aeithalas, strung up by their feet awaiting death. One soldier wears a short blue tunic with mauve trim over leggings, all decorated with touches of gold, and knee-high slim boots. His partner wears a mauve short tunic with an embroidered panel down the front over blue leggings. Both wear a scarf tied around the chest and embroidered armbands, possibly *tiraz*.

As with the majority of the garments found in the manuscript, theirs are densely patterned. We find argyle and lozenge patterns on the garments of these two soldiers, while others in the codex wear roundel, floral, and an array of geometric designs on their clothes. These types of patterns are common on the surviving Byzantine textiles. The Carnegie Museum of Natural History has two textiles with geometric pattern, one in diamond shapes, the other in a loose argyle pattern that are similar to what our soldiers' wear.<sup>42</sup> A good example of a lozenge pattern can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>43</sup> Roundel patterns seen on many of the textiles in the Menologium are found in most textile collections; a wool and linen example from eighth- to tenth-century Egypt is representative of this type of pattern.<sup>44</sup> In a further example, a floral vine motif is another pattern seen in the Menologium that evidently existed on medieval textiles, as in the linen and wool fragment found in the Carnegie Museum.<sup>45</sup>

Notably, the soldiers' garb sharply contrasts with the saint's ecclesiastical robes, which while elegant (a shimmering blue tunic with a brown *sticharion* and white stole over that) seem bland by comparison (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 157) (plate 22). Even when the artist opted to leave the clothing of the executioners plain, saturated colors are boldly set off against each other, creating outfits that surpass those of the saints that they martyr.

The fabulous clothing of the soldiers in the Menologium by no means fooled the viewer into imagining these men were part of the elite in Byzantine society. Nor do we mistakenly read these soldiers as the protagonists in these dramas. Their acts of brutality clearly label the soldiers as the foils to the holy saints who are nimbed even when decapitated. The soldiers' clothing, despite its beauty, clearly signifies their stature. The tunics are short, often tucked up in a belt, allowing greater mobility for their strenuous work. By tucking his rose and blue tunic into his belt, one soldier strides into his attack stance easily, weapon held high over the saint at his feet (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 157) (plate 22). The majority of these soldiers don boots, necessary for their heavy labors, while the saints and other figures wear the slipper-like shoes of the wealthy or learned, as seen on the aristocratic St. Aretha and his wealthy companions, who line up for their martyrdom (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 135).

The illuminators make the class of the soldiers even more obvious by contrasting their garb with that of aristocrats, and occasional imperial figures, pictured in the codex. Officials of higher rank, wearing *chlamydes*

and longer tunics, command the soldiers to carry out their executioner's duties. A man in a three-quarter length blue tunic with gold-embroidered trim supervises the soldier who lowers his sword on St. Porphyrius (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 161). A front panel with roundels and ornate armbands ornament his tunic further. He wears a small white turban, suggesting that he is a foreigner in the context of this manuscript, and black boots.<sup>46</sup> This man is clearly superior in rank and wealth to the soldier in his employ.

Other images depict soldiers similarly. The Esphigmenou Menologium may have used the Menologium of Basil II as a prototype, which would account for the similarity of the soldiers in that text. The artist of Sakli Kilise in Göreme, ca. 1070 portrayed the Roman soldiers who stabbed the crucified Christ and offered vinegar to drink in contemporary red short tunics—one decorated in roundels, the other in small circles.<sup>47</sup> The dress of the Virgin and other mourners seems quite plain by comparison. A wool and linen tunic fragment with a pearl-bordered roundel design from the Washington DC Textile Museum is similar to the pattern on the Roman soldiers.<sup>48</sup> Although this fragment was made in eighth-century Egypt, therefore an Islamic textile, it is comparable, as the local textile industry would likely not have changed greatly as the region moved away from Byzantine sovereignty.<sup>49</sup> The work is done in wool on a plain linen background suggesting a wearer of average means, though probably not as humble as a soldier. A naval battle scene in the *Cynegetica* shows some sailors with upper-body armor and fighting skirts while others wear none, perhaps suggestive of various ranks. This image with the proximity of the enemy fighter and his spear makes particularly vivid the danger present for a foot soldier or sailor, as their cloaks and tunics even if padded could hardly have been prophylactic.

### Servants and Slaves

While one should imagine that servants and slaves wore the same short tunic of the other non-elites discussed thus far, because their clothes were probably provided for them by their masters the question of whether they wore a uniform or not must be examined.<sup>50</sup> In the imperial court, it seems likely that servants and slaves were given similar garments, often of the same color, thus constituting a uniform. Maravazi, a late eleventh-century visitor to the Byzantine court, points out the colors worn by the imperial entourage,

One day before the day of assembly, a proclamation is made in the town that the basileus intends to visit the hippodrome. The people hasten thither for the spectacle and jostle in throngs and in the morning the king comes with

his intimates and servants, all of them dressed in red [*sic*]. He sits on an eminence overlooking the place and there appears his wife called dizbuna [*sic*] with her servants and intimates, all of them dressed in green, and she sits in the place opposite the king.<sup>51</sup>

Minorsky notes that Maravazi mistakenly said that the emperor's servants wore red, rather than blue, reflecting the leading factions. I do not think there is enough evidence for dressing in factional colors or for servants' outfits to be sure that Minorsky is correct; regardless, they were dressed alike for this occasion. A Byzantine envoy of Basil II's was sent to the Buwayid palace in 986; "Attending [the envoy] were chamberlains carrying swords in pearl-studded girdles."<sup>52</sup> Here we can imagine the attendants in slightly different tunics and cloaks, perhaps, but with the telltale girdle serving as a uniform of sorts.

The pictorial record further supports the idea of a servant's uniform. In the Vatican manuscript made for a Western princess, discussed in chapter 2, the ladies-in-waiting for the new empress flank wearing her identical dresses and hats<sup>53</sup> (Vat. Gr. 1851, 3v). The serving women are distinguished from the group that stand outside the new bride's tent in folio 6 as she gets dressed in her new regalia; these women, perhaps relatives or wives of officials rather than servants, wear distinct outfits (plate 12). Other imperial servants are shown in a manuscript from Norman Sicily known as the *Homerus Venetus* where two women in blue cloaks with small white turbans flank Helen of Troy who has been set in a Norman palace<sup>54</sup> (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS A1 Gr. 454, fol. 1r). Furlan in his catalog of the Marciana Library's Greek manuscripts demonstrates that this manuscript is based on Byzantine and Islamic prototypes and cites Vat. 752 as a model for the court scenes.<sup>55</sup>

The evidence for the dress of servants and slaves outside of court is less clear. One fourth-century source describes a nobleman, Arsenius, who before his monastic life owned "thousands of slaves with golden girdles, all wearing collars of gold and garments of silk."<sup>56</sup> Although the story seems exaggerated, it does point to the notion that one would dress their slaves alike. Middle Byzantine sources contain no descriptions of the dress of slaves with which to compare. In the Madrid Skylitzes, however, the widow Danielis is shown being carried by her slaves dressed in short blue or pink tunics with pink or blue leggings and black boots. This would suggest that private individuals dressed their slaves in uniforms. As this manuscript is an unreliable source for Byzantine dress, as discussed in chapter 3, and Danielis's servants' dress matches her own, the evidence for the dress of slaves in this manuscript is tenuous. However, a *Book of Job* dated to the late eleventh century from Mt. Sinai (Mount Sinai,

St. Catherine's Monastery, MS 3, fol. 17v) shows a medieval rendering of Job's sons and daughters feasting. Here two servants in identical uniforms rush bowls of food to the table, perhaps an image of the Byzantine household. Other images of servants, such as in *The Cyngetica*, depict them in similar outfits of short tunics, but alone. What little evidence we have for the clothing of domestic servants and slaves suggests that they, like imperial servants, wore some sort of uniform; however, because the evidence for this is weaker we may imagine that this was not a ubiquitous trend.

### Entertainers

Performers of all sorts make up another group of working-class people both at court and outside of it. Byzantine authors deride entertainers for their sexual promiscuity and immoral behavior, thought to characterize those in the theater. Prostitution was widely believed to be part of the entertainment industry, a clear indication of the inferior position held by performers in Byzantine society.<sup>57</sup> However, representations of the dress of performers was notably not indicative of their low class in the way that it was for other working-class Byzantines. The clothing of dancers, musicians, acrobats, and other entertainers stands out for being far more varied than that of laborers. Unlike the outfits of farmers and fishermen that are uniformly short with sturdy boots, the representations of performers are inconsistent. We find dancers in long and short garments both fitted and loose. Some carry scarves, others wear hats. Musicians are depicted in both plain and heavily ornamented dress. Acrobats wear athletic-looking leggings with loose tops in some images while they are shown nearly nude in other works of art. At times the clothing of performers closely parallels Islamic dress, while in other instances it derives from completely Byzantine sources. The clothing of entertainers naturally is diverse, and elegant because they are wearing what can accurately be called costumes, that is clothing put on specifically for performance.

Among images of entertainers, musicians are commonest and display the widest range of garments. The Dance of Miriam in the Vatican Psalter of 1058–59 is perhaps the most well-known image of musicians in the Middle Byzantine era<sup>58</sup> (Vat. Gr. 752, fol. 449). Eight musicians play for a circle of dancers, which is discussed later. Each wears a short tunic, in red or blue, with gold embroidered trim at the hem, collar, and cuffs over black leggings and boots. Unlike the majority of the working-class garments examined thus far, these seem particularly sumptuous given the class of the wearers, due especially to the gold embroidery. However, their short tunics make it clear that these are people of a lower class.

A nearly contemporary set of two sculpted marble musicians now in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, shows a variation on the garments

found in the Dance of Miriam.<sup>59</sup> One wears a three-quarter length, v-neck fitted tunic with a belt while the other wears a full-length loose tunic. No obvious signs of the class of these musicians exist in these representations. On a doorframe dated between the ninth and twelfth century at the Corinth Museum, a harpist wears a long, vertically striped garment on his legs, possibly the bottom half of a tunic, with a plain top and a bulbous hat.<sup>60</sup> Also found at Corinth, a ceramic chafing dish of the twelfth century depicts drummers, whose instruments are slung across their bodies on straps. They wear v-necked tunics with circular shoulder ornaments.<sup>61</sup> A final extreme example can be found in the eleventh-century Turin University Library version of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, showing two snake charmers forming the letter “M” who play their hypnotic music in the nude! (Turin, Turin University Library, MS C.I. 6, fol. 68r). The line between costume and dress is clear; the snake charmers’ nudity is part of the act.

The range of dress in these images gives no standard indication of class, as we find in the other dress of other groups discussed in this chapter. Because these performers are wearing costumes, rather than everyday dress, Byzantine artists opted not to express status through clothing. The clothing represents a range of costumes typically worn by musicians of the day. A Byzantine viewer needed clothing to distinguish a farmer from a hunter, but entertainers were identified by the performance itself, whether playing an instrument, dancing, or standing on one’s head.

Other images of musicians look very Islamic. The musician found on the initial “T” in the Turin Homilies serves as a good example (Turin C.I. 6, fol. 76r). The flute player, who sits cross-legged as is typical in Islamic images of court figures, sports a turban and brocaded tunic.<sup>62</sup> Not surprisingly, a flutist found in a Nativity scene of a Cappadocian church, St. Theodore in Ortahisar, wears eastern dress as well (plate 6e). He wears a small fitted turban and a patterned caftan in brown and white with black slippers. The patterned garments of these musicians look like those of the Umayyad flutist playing on the walls of Qasr Amra, discussed in chapter 3. His v-necked, belted tunic is decorated with small diamonds and circles.

Dancers too are pictured in a large variety of garments. Some images show female dancers in long dresses, belted at the waist, with long scarves. An eleventh-century work of sculpture in the Byzantine Museum in Athens shows a scarf dancer, wearing a turban, next to a centaur. Two dancers with scarves appear on the so-called crown of Constantine IX Monomachos, of 1042–50, a set of seven enamel plaques originally affixed to a leather or cloth backing.<sup>63</sup> Rather than belted dresses, these women wear two-piece ensembles of a long-sleeved bell-bottomed shirt over an ankle-length skirt. Each wears a simple gold headband in her hair. These dancers follow Islamic models as well, such as the scarf dancer found on the

twelfth-century ivory plaque from Sicily, now in the Museo Nazionale in Florence.<sup>64</sup> She carries a large scarf that falls over her brocaded dress with a foliate design in roundels. An ornate gold headband secures her hair.

These pseudo-Islamic dancers dress quite differently from the dancers found in the Vatican Psalter evidencing a great diversity in the dress worn by dancers (Vat. Gr. 752, fol. 449). The female dancers in the Vatican Psalter are dressed in long gowns with enormous sleeves that expand out from the elbow to rest on the floor. Their dresses are embroidered in gold at the collar, hem, and on a panel on the chest. Long sashes define their waists. Armbands with pseudo-kufic, apparently *tiraz*, encircle their biceps. While each dress is primarily red or blue, each is decorated with a sumptuous pattern simulating brocade. Most striking are the large, fan-shaped hats that they sport, some of which are further ornamented with gold stripes. The male dancer in this manuscript wears a short tunic, trimmed with gold embroidery that matches the women's, over leggings and boots. Male dancers were chided in the Early Byzantine sources for their effeminacy and they were known to wear makeup,<sup>65</sup> perhaps matching an outfit to a woman's was part of the problem. One of the few descriptions of dancing that we have describes a garment that is probably our short tunic pictured here. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos describes the dress of court dancers who trot around a table during a dinner celebration for the emperor. ". . .the magistrate and the vicar wear blue and white *kondomanikia* [short-sleeved tunics] with a slit and gold bands and rings on their feet."<sup>66</sup> This garment described by Constantine must have looked remarkably like the dress of the musicians in Vatican Gr. 752, suggesting that the artist was making some attempt at accuracy. The pictorial evidence demonstrates that artists rarely concerned themselves with realistic portrayals of dress; few artists rendered genre scenes such as this Vatican Psalter image of a performance, let alone with the details of dress properly depicted.

A few images also survive from the Middle Byzantine era of acrobats and other types of athletes. As one might expect for such a physical job, acrobats, wrestlers, and others may not have worn more than a loincloth to perform their contortions. A twelfth-century marble sculpture from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul shows an acrobat in backbend wearing only what can best be described using the modern word "briefs" (plate 24). Two figures wrestle in the margins of the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* in nothing but loincloths (Turin C.I. 6, fol. 11r). By contrast, the acrobat pictured in the letter "T" is far more modest and festive in a loose-fitting blue loincloth with a sleeveless red shirt (Turin C.I. 6, fol. 72r). The scarf and rings on his arms appear to be accessories for his performance. Another acrobat forms the letter "T" in long ballooning pants, an unusual sight in Byzantine art, a long-sleeved shirt, and small cap (Turin C.I. 6, fol. 73r).



Some images of athletes like the hisoriated initials in the Turin Homilies, especially those of wrestlers, show them wrestling in the nude. Exercising in the nude was the norm in the ancient Greek world but the practice does not appear to have survived into the medieval era, dying out beginning with the Etruscans, at least for public sporting events.<sup>67</sup> By the sixth century, acrobats were required to cover at least the groin area, as Prokopios notes when he feigns disgust over Theodora's theatre performances.<sup>68</sup> The nude men, figuring so prominently in a set of manuscripts that relied heavily on prototypes—Gregory's Homilies—may be copied from classical imagery.

A set of eleventh-century images in the church of St. Sophia in Kiev depict hunting and gaming activities taking place in a hippodrome and may reflect a more accurate rendering of such activities.<sup>69</sup> While it is debated as to whether the subject matter imitates the Constantinopolitan hippodrome or whether it is a locally derived scene, the Rus' were under the Byzantine sphere of influence, so the acrobats can help us envisage such sport.<sup>70</sup> One acrobat wearing a long-sleeved tunic with trim at the collar, hoisted at the waist by a belt, and a small cap carries a child on a pole. The boy is dressed similarly. It is difficult to tell what stunts two other performers in the Kiev frescoes are about to begin, but their clothes are remarkable for how tight they are and their distinct hats. There are no examples of body-hugging clothing in the Byzantine world and the Kiev hats do not have any close parallels either perhaps because these outfits are locally derived.

The diversity of dress among athletic performers appears not only in images but also in textual descriptions. A charioteer performing in the hippodrome was described by a tenth-century Islamic chronicler as wearing "silk woven dresses,"<sup>71</sup> which seems awfully well dressed for what was likely a dirty job. A long tunic in a bright color reflecting the driver's faction (blue or green, red or white for the secondary drivers) was the rule for a charioteer, dating back to Antiquity.<sup>72</sup> Silk was well suited for accepting bright dyes, easily visible to spectators even through the dust cloud of a race; jockeys today wear saturated silk gear for the same purpose.

The categories of the laborers, servants, and hunters, discussed earlier, was made clear, despite their pretty clothing, through signifiers such as hem length and shoe type which to a Byzantine signaled a non-elite. However, Byzantine artists blurred class lines by using images of performers in obviously expensive clothing often without the telltale signs of the lower class. Instead, entertainers were defined through the act of their performance—playing an instrument, dancing, doing gymnastics—rather than through their costumes. Not only did the Byzantine artist have no need for a rigid system of dress for performers who were easily distinguished by their actions, but also their expensive clothing may have been more true to life.

Entertainers could add drama and excitement to their performances through dress, much like contemporary musicians and actors such as Madonna, who daringly popularized lingerie as outerwear. We find Byzantine artists rendered a greater variety of dress than with other categories of people seen so far. It follows then that the performers truly had many different options for clothing themselves. Without surviving portraits of dancers, musicians, and others, it would be difficult to say that these images represent real garments worn by such people. However we can imagine that performers strove for exotic, glitzy, sexy, or outlandish attire as part of their entertaining, and that their fashion choices were not greatly limited by their class. Perhaps, other working-class types had greater access to different types of garments than the surviving visual record would have us believe but the schematic renderings bar us from a better understanding of their dress.

### Images of Women

Women represent another group who are codified in Byzantine imagery; their clothing signifies a code of modesty rather than a trade, as is the case with men. Female performers are an exception to this characterization, as discussed earlier. Women are distinguished through fabric and accessories, such as jewelry, while their tunics are represented as long with covered heads no matter their wealth. The clothing of women in images is hardly distinguishable from that of men, in images of non-elites, save for the nod to modesty. Notably, descriptions of men's and women's dress in Byzantine literature suggests that the differences between them were significant, even though we do not see it clearly in manuscript illuminations.

Compare, for example, the few women represented in the *Menologium* of Basil II such as the sumptuously dressed woman who stands next to the soldier in folio 167 (Vat. Gr. 1613). In this manuscript, women, no matter their class, are shown with longer garments than men. Her veil, cloak, and tunic are as heavily decorated as the soldier's dress, yet hers is long and full indicating her affluence and a particularly feminine modesty. In a scene of a miraculous rain of ashes, the painter represents an array of classes (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 164). The poorest male figure stands in a short tunic with bare legs and feet, beside other men in short tunics whose legs are covered in hose and boots. A woman who covers her face with her hands wears a red tunic with blue embroidery and red shoes. The three-quarter length and ornamentation on her garment suggest that she is wealthier than those around her, but of more modest means than the richly dressed woman found in folio 167. No women are shown in knee-length tunics, which would be inappropriate for their gender, according to the standards set in manuscript illumination. However, class distinction is still

made through the layering of garments and ornamentation; the greater the number of layers and abundance of ornament, the wealthier the woman.

Images of the working class, while rarely showing women, indicate that tunics and cloaks were the same for either gender, with the exception of length. The cut is the same; the ornament and tailoring at the cuffs and neck do not differ; the colors used for men's and women's clothing is also the same. However, Byzantine textual evidence suggests that men and women's clothing was differentiated, even among lower classes. Two images in the Menologium of Basil II illustrate the unisex clothing represented in images of the working class in Byzantine art. In one example, St. Erotide is martyred in a plain long white loose tunic (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 143). This shapeless garment is identical to the white tunic found on one of the Seven Sleepers who rests in a cave in a second image (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 133). His neighbor wears the same garment, but in orange. While the gender of these figures is unmistakable due to hair length, accessories and the context in which the figures are set, their primary garments are indistinguishable with respect to gender. The only noticeable gender difference is in hemline; women are never shown in short tunics yet men can wear both long and short garments. Byzantine society likely dictated longer hemlines for women at least in imagery for reasons of modesty.

Byzantine *vitae*, on the other hand, distinguish clearly between men and women's garments. For example in the *Vita* of Elias Spelaiotes, written between 960 and 1000, a monk named Jacob wears "a man's colobium" implying that the garment is cut or ornamented differently for women.<sup>73</sup> When Philaretos the Merciful came home in his underwear, having given away his last garment, his wife takes her own *sticharion* and redesigns it for a man.<sup>74</sup> Philaretos's wife may have simply cut the garment to knee-length but not necessarily, as men's garments could also be long, the alteration may have been elsewhere on the garment. The chronicler Theophanes tells us in the late eighth century that during the iconoclastic controversy some Constantinopolitans attempted to slip past an official guarding the city named Artavasdos by wearing women's dress.<sup>75</sup> As women were often veiled, the escapees probably wore *maphoria* to cover their faces. However, as is evident from certain sources, the escapees would have to have worn a woman's tunic as well to fool the guard. A story of the tenth-century St. Mary the Younger provides evidence for tunics that were different for each gender. The author recounts St. Mary's husband trying to find a suitable burial garment for his wife who gave all of her clothing to the poor. ". . .Having heard [that she gave her clothing away], he made no further investigation, but ordered one of his own garments to be altered into a feminine one, and for the blessed woman to be buried in it."<sup>76</sup> Gender differentiation had existed in the Early Byzantine period as well; Prokopios

notes in his *Secret History* that Theodora as a child wore, “a little tunic with long sleeves,” which he further notes is “the usual dress of a slave girl.”<sup>77</sup> Distinctions between men and women’s dress have been lost in the schematizing of working-class dress by Byzantine artists.

Images of modestly dressed women with tunics covering the knees and arms, and *maphoria* covering the head in the pictorial record may also be misleading. Many images of women at court and empresses depict them merely with crowns and without full head coverings, as seen in the first two chapters. The custom of covering one’s head, while common, would hardly be limited to lower classes of women and conversely, immodesty was not likely limited to the upper class. A Middle Byzantine ivory depicting Adam and Eve at work shows them as a working-class couple, where Eve wears short sleeves and has a bare head<sup>78</sup> (plate 25). In another image from a Late Byzantine *Book of Job* (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, MS Taphou 5, fol. 234b) two females sit making cloth and thread, one with a *maphorion* and the other without. Finally, in the Esphigmenou Menologium, the wife of St. Eustathios opts to wear her *maphorion* in some instances but not in others (Athos, Esphigmenou, MS 14, fol. 52r). While generally the codified image of a typical woman is that of a modestly veiled figure in a unisex tunic, the literary evidence suggests that variation in the cuts of tunics must have existed so as to distinguish men’s and women’s garments. Furthermore, a few images do not follow the code of modesty clung to by most artists, implying that the *maphorion* was not ubiquitous for women.

It is interesting to note that the modesty of women was not only perpetuated in images, but also in literature, which insisted on the seclusion of women in the Byzantine household. Kazdhan notes that “a moral (‘ideological’) construct” of women confined to the *gynaeceum* was used by Byzantine writers and did not reflect reality.<sup>79</sup> This trope of the confined woman parallels the modestly covered woman of Middle Byzantine painting.

### Images of Children

Children constitute the final group of non-elites discussed here. Children in the whole of medieval sources, written and visual, are problematic as there is little information on them. It is only since the early 1990s that there have been any publications devoted solely to childhood in the medieval period.<sup>80</sup> This research, however, offers the dress historian little beyond mentioning the need for clothing for children.<sup>81</sup> It is often assumed that children simply wore clothing similar to adults, but smaller. This is in keeping with what is known of the lives of children: with the exception of the very wealthy who attended school, most children began work of some kind

at an extremely young age and married as teenagers, so that one hardly had time to be a child as distinct from an adult. The two boys shown in St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, discussed in chapter 2, would support this notion, as both are in *chlamydes* and tunics no different from adult males. In the scenes of St. Eustathios's negligent parenting in the Esphigmenou Menologium, his children are dressed similarly to him in short tunics, boots, and cloaks (Athos, Esphigmenou, MS 14, fol. 52v). The Paris Gregory contains marginal illustrations of children at play, but all are nude (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 550, fols. 6r, 6v, and 9v). Perhaps young children typically played in the nude or these images are meant to represent poor children; as they are marginal sketches there is no context for the images or reference in the text to them. The archaeological record further supports the idea that children wear the same clothing as adults; a few children's tunics belonging to seventh-century Byzantine Egypt are similar to the adult versions. For example, a linen tunic decorated with square panels, clavi, and at the collar and cuffs in red and blue, exhibits nothing that would indicate it belonged to a child beyond its smaller size.<sup>82</sup>

### The Cost of Clothing

While the donations of clothing were made to the poor and their lords provided servants and slaves with clothing, the question remains how the average Byzantine bought, or perhaps made, their clothes. Cecile Morrison and Jean Cheynet have compiled from many sources prices of garments as well as salaries of various individuals to give us an idea of the economics of the clothing industry.<sup>83</sup> It should be noted that the garments whose prices survive in sources, discussed later, were luxury items made of precious materials or ornamented and that the prices are drawn from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, reflecting various economic situations, so we can only extrapolate the cost of common clothing from Morrison's and Cheynet's information. The *Book of Ceremonies* notes that silk tunics cost around twelve *nomismata* (a basic gold coin) and an eleventh-century source states that a *skaramangion* embroidered with gold thread was worth twenty *nomismata*.<sup>84</sup> Marriage contracts of middle-class Jews in the eleventh century tells us that an embroidered dress cost two gold pieces and two women's dresses were worth one gold piece.<sup>85</sup> Presumably the less expensive dresses were plain, giving a closer approximation of the value of something owned by an ordinary Byzantine.

Wages tell us that even the least expensive garments compiled by Morrison and Cheynet were beyond the means of the middle and lower classes. For example, a Constantinopolitan merchant around the year 620 made a mere fifteen *nomismata* annually; this individual could hardly afford to spend his limited income on even the cheapest clothes if he

wanted to feed and provide shelter for a family. Builders in Egypt in the eighth century made similar salaries and a twelfth-century servant in Constantinople made far less, only little more than six *hyperpyra*.<sup>86</sup> An examination of wills in the Late Byzantine period by Nikolas Oikonomides shows that the average middle-class household left two or three garments worth two to six *hyperpyra* each in their wills.<sup>87</sup> A comparison between two Early Byzantine wills, that of an elite and another of a freedman, shows that the wealthy man from Ravenna owned two silk shirts, a multicolored garment, a fibula, and a pair of linen trousers as compared to Guerdit the freedman of the same Ravenna household who owned an “old dyed shirt. . .[a] decorated shirt. . .[an] old coat. . .[and an] old short, thick cloak.”<sup>88</sup> Surely these people owned more garments than were listed in their wills; nevertheless the Byzantine wardrobe was indeed small and notably simple for those who had less money. This economic analysis, while unscientific and not taking inflation into account, nevertheless shows a disparity between the cost of clothing and the amount of money that people had to spend on clothes. Clothing had to be prohibitively expensive for many, therefore, the working class must have traded goods and services for clothing, made their own, or obtained secondhand clothing.

Petra Sijpesteijn in her analysis of early Islamic papyri has gathered much evidence for families making their own clothes,<sup>89</sup> in what is likely a comparable situation to Byzantine households. The number of saints reportedly making clothing for the poor, discussed earlier in this chapter, suggests that many had the means for making clothing at home. The cost of fabric has to be factored in here, but this was at least less expensive than buying clothing. In some cases, people may have even woven their own fabric thus only enduring the cost of thread. Bartering existed in the Byzantine world as a secondary economy and was probably used by some to obtain clothing, although little is documented beyond that which took place at important markets and fairs.<sup>90</sup> Secondhand clothing was another important source. Byzantine wills suggest that clothing was passed down to other family members as well as slaves and domestic servants. Eustathius Boilas left one of his many slaves freedom, land, and “personal and bed clothing,” among other items.<sup>91</sup> The clothes of the freedman from Ravenna, described earlier, were described as “old” implying that they may have in fact been used.<sup>92</sup> From this limited evidence one can surmise that non-elites may have only owned a few plain garments for different weather conditions and that these clothes were worn until worn out.

### Conclusion

Schematic images of the poor and working class depicted in the majority of Byzantine painting between the eighth and twelfth centuries points to

certain attitudes about painting as well as the non-elite subjects represented. First, class distinction was a crucial element of Byzantine illumination often expressing larger ideas present in the text. For example, in the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, Barlaam the monk tells Joasaph the parable of the good sower, whose working-man's one-shouldered tunic and boots are contrasted with the rich clothing of Joasaph. The wealthy young prince is set off from the virtuous and poor sower, representing the faithful, which further illustrates the moral of the conversion tale (Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, MS 463, fol. 20r). In the *Menologium* of Basil II, the bare shoulder of the executioner in the martyrdom of St. Capitolina and St. Erotide conjures up the notion of sweat-inducing physical work and appears immodest in comparison to the covered saint about to meet her death, which is exactly what the illuminator wished to highlight (Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 143).

Because manuscripts were luxury items with an elite audience there was little need for complete accuracy in the rendering of working-class figures. As these persons were almost never the main characters of the stories, the artist only represented the requisite shorthand for non-elite types to illustrate what was happening to the protagonist, whether a saint, courtier, romantic hero, emperor, or empress, such as the soldiers who are supporting actors to the leading saints in *The Menologium of Basil II* (Vat. Gr. 1613). The various non-elites represented in *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* help illustrate the Homilies loosely. For example, alongside mentions of springtime in several versions, the artist depicted pastoral scenes with shepherds and farmers; because the text is not illustrated word for word and these non-elites are not characters in a story, the artist had no need to use anything other than codified images for these non-elite types. The churches in Cappadocia modeled Joseph and other biblical persons on contemporary lower-class people; these churches were obviously commissioned by Cappadocian aristocracy or monks but may have been frequented by a local agrarian population to whom these images appealed. Or, perhaps because these figures were less important, the artists were allowed greater license.

Standardized outfits and the people who wore them also served to decorate the background of the paintings. Bright colors were used, patterns were sometimes ornate, and gold was used to highlight the hems of the everyday tunic. One can imagine a population of working class in undecorated, natural-colored wool, and linen garments with boots worn from years of use. But, such a realistic portrayal could not be used to illustrate the pages of a manuscript or a church fresco without altering the Byzantine aesthetic.

Despite the clear code of dress for most non-elite types portrayed in Byzantine painting, the literary and visual record sometimes breaks away from the codified clothing. For example, while in many cases the working

class wore short tunics and boots, *The Book of the Eparch* suggests that citizens of all classes may have worn short garments. The compiler notes that the wealthy also wore short cloaks as the use of purple dye had to be limited to the trim of cloaks except for on “shorter models,” indicating the ordinariness of short clothing.<sup>93</sup> Tim Dawson in his thesis on court regalia argues that the term *πάγανος* (*paganos*), which is used in conjunction with cloaks and tunics in the *Book of Ceremonies*, refers to short garments.<sup>94</sup> The *Cynegetica*, a manuscript, which we have seen showed a greater variety of dress than the typical Middle Byzantine book, depicts non-elites in long tunics, for example, the ivory carver (Ven. Mar. Z 479, fol. 36r). The *Cynegetica* points to variety in working-class dress in general, not just in hemline. The illuminator depicted several styles of shoes and hats, for example, which take us beyond the pared-down outfits seen in most manuscripts. While these cannot be taken at face value, as these are not portraits of actual people, they suggest that non-elites could wear more outfits than was shown by the average artist or described by the typical writer.

Gender difference in clothing, according to Byzantine literature was the norm, yet it is not clear in the pictorial record. The images of women are oversimplified, thereby giving us no information as to what constituted a gendered garment. Furthermore, social mores concerning modesty are played out in the reserved dress seen in depictions of women, which did not always reflect Byzantine practice. We must imagine, however, that subtle differences existed in the cut and ornamentation of the simple tunics and cloaks of men and women, because the literary record points to such distinctions.

Finally, entertainers make up an unusual category of non-elites who were shown wearing atypical clothing for their costumes. The entertainment industry demanded specialized clothing for performance and for some the costumes would have been provided for them. One of our only sources for the history of entertainment, the sixth-century *Secret History*, tells us that the factions supported circus performance, which surely must have included costumes.<sup>95</sup> However, the provincial musicians depicted on Corinthian pottery, for example, could not rely on courtiers to pay for their splashy clothes. The representations of performers evidence, at the very least, a diversity in garments not normally seen for people of lower classes.

Lack of money obviously would have restricted the number of garments owned and the fineness of their material for all non-elites. However, a few Byzantine artists and writers point to a variety of styles available to lower classes indicating that the working men and women of the empire made fashion choices rather than strictly utilitarian ones when getting dressed.





1 Empress Eudokia and her Sons, Leo and Alexander, 879–83, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS GR. 510, Fol. Br, Bibliothèque National de France.



2 Nikephoros Phokas and family, 965–69, Pigeon House Church, Cavusin, Cappadocia; photo by author.



3 Nikephoros Botaneiates and his courtiers, ca. 1071–81, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms Coislin 79, fol. 2r; Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



4 Emperor Heraklios and family as Job, ca. 615–40, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MSI.B, fol. 18; with permission of the Ministero per I Beni and the Attività Culturali.

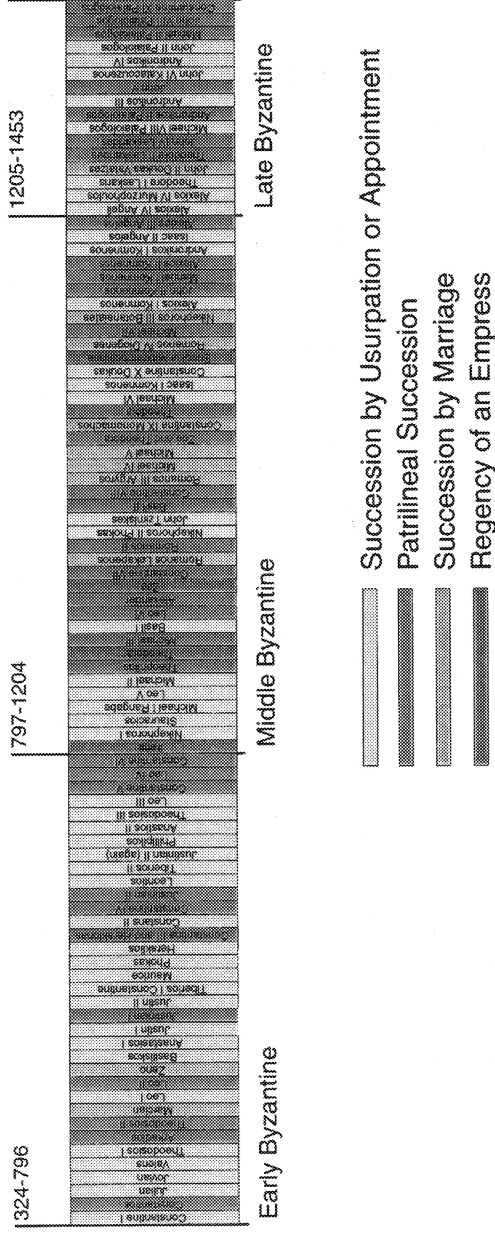


5 Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of Alania, ca. 1071–81, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Coislin 79, fol. IV; Bibliothèque nationale de France.



6 Drawings of male portraits: A. John Entalmatikos, Karanlik Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; B. Unknown male, Karabas Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; C. Michael Skepides, Karabas Kilise, Cappadocia, eleventh century; D. Theodore Gabras, St. Petersburg, Gospel Book Leaves, MS 291, fol. 2v, eleventh century; E. Musician, Church of St. Theodore, Ortahisar, Cappadocia, Turkey, late tenth or early eleventh century; F. Leon, Carikli Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; G. Detail of men gathering, entry into Jerusalem, Carikli Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; drawings by author.

# Means of imperial succession in the Byzantine Empire



7 Table of imperial succession; table by author.



8 Alexios I, Dogmatic Panopoly, late eleventh century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 666, fol. 2r; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

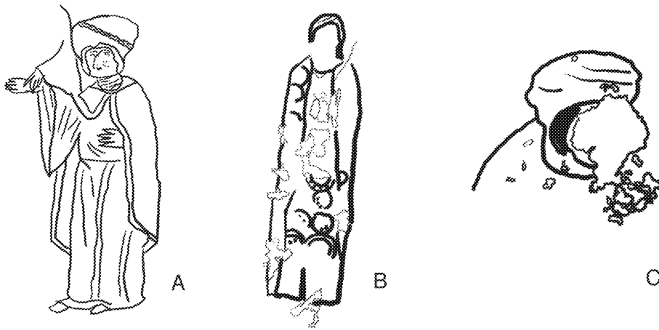




9 Davit III, Church of St. John the Baptist, 963–66, Oski, Turkey; photo by Sarah T. Brooks.



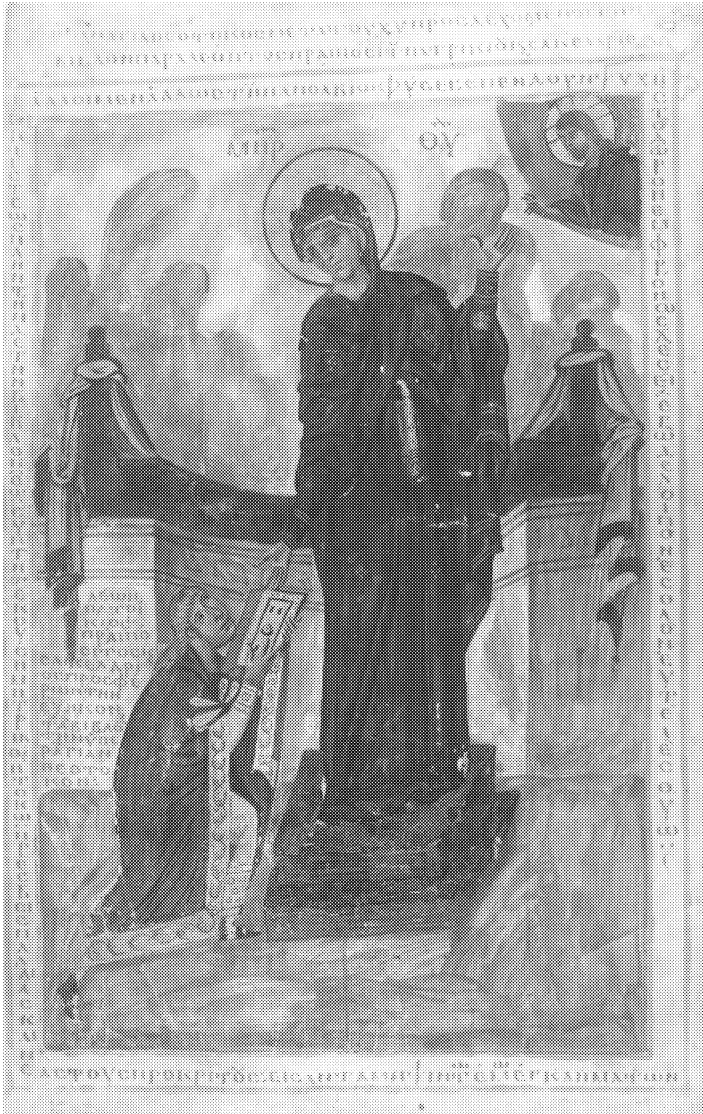
**10** Basil II in triumph over Bulgarians, 1017, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Z 17, fol. III; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.



**11** Drawings of female portraits: A. Irene Gabras, St. Petersburg, Gospel Book Leaves, MS 291, fol. 3r, eleventh century; B. Eudokia, St. Daniel, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; C. Unknown female, Karabas Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century, drawings by author.



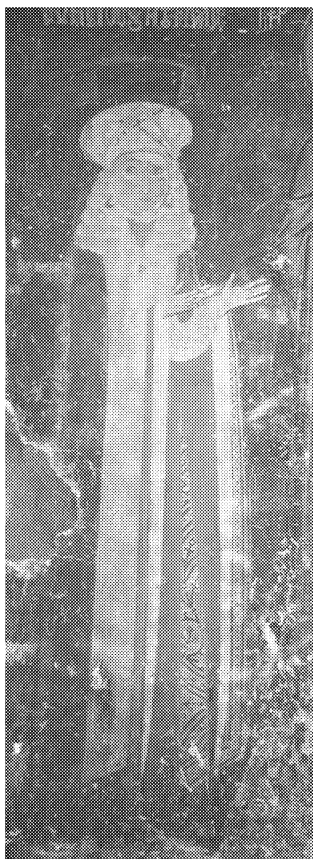
12 Marriage of a foreign princess to an Emperor, twelfth century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 1851, fol. 6; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



13 Leo Sakellarios and the Virgin, ca. 930–40, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vaticana, MS Gr. 1, fol. 2v; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



**14** Portrait of Donors with the Mother of God, Selime Kilise, Cappadocia, Turkey, eleventh century; photo by author.

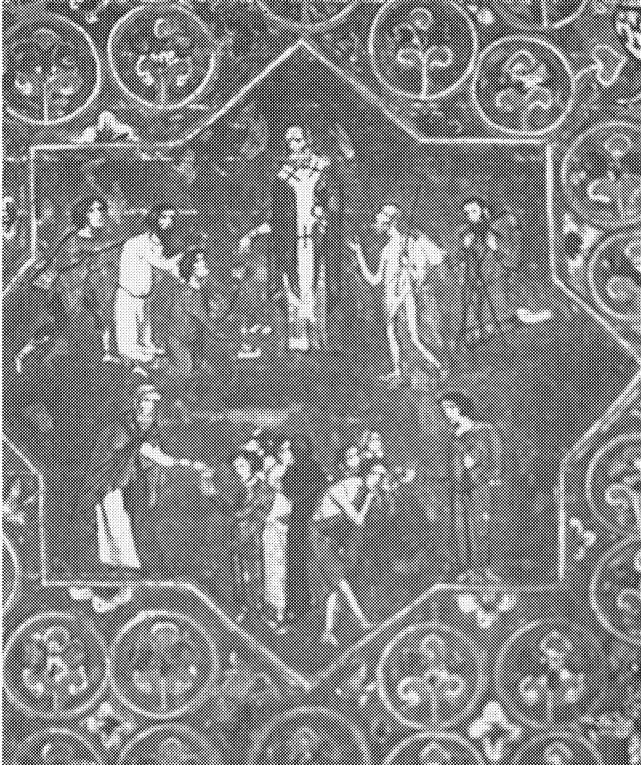


**15** Anna Radene, Hagia Anargyroi, Kastoria, Greece, late twelfth century; photo by author.



**16** Anna Kaznitze, Hagios Nikolaos tou Kaznitze, Kastoria, Greece, late twelfth century; photo by author.





17 Gregory Nazianzus and the poor, *The Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, twelfth century, Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, MS Gr. 550, fol. 51r; Bibliothèque national de France.



18 Joseph, Church of St. Theodore, Ortahisar, Cappadocia, Turkey, late tenth or early eleventh century; photo by author.





20 Birdcatchers, *Cynegetica*, late tenth to early eleventh century, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Z 479, fol. 13r; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.





22 St. Acepshmas with Joseph and Aeithalas, Menologium of Basil II, after 979, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Gr. 1613, fol. 157; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

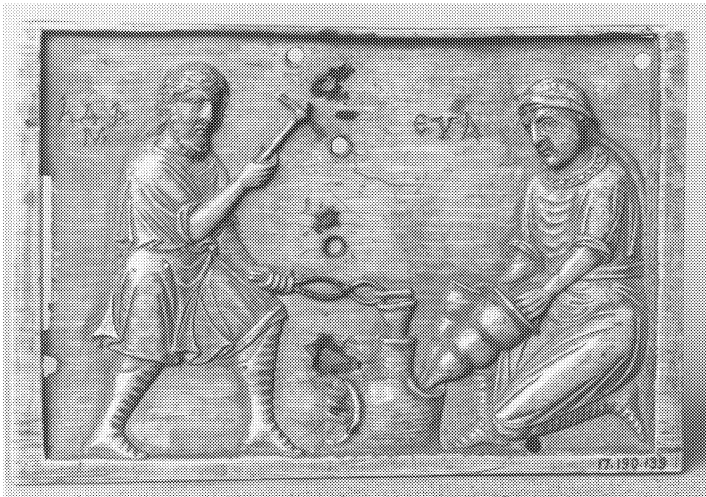


23 Musicians, eleventh century, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; photo by author.



24 Sculpture of an Acrobat, twelfth century, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; photo by author.





25 Plaque from a casket: Adam and Eve at the forge, tenth to eleventh century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY (17.190. 139); All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



## CHAPTER 5

### AN EXAMINATION OF THE TEXTILE EVIDENCE

The purpose of this chapter is to look at another small but very important body of evidence for Middle Byzantine secular dress: the surviving textile fragments. Surprisingly little of our evidence for secular dress of the Middle Byzantine period consists of textiles. Few textiles survive due to the fragile nature of cloth, let alone entire garments, of which there are none from the period studied here. Not only is cloth fragile but also important textile storehouses, such as the imperial treasury, were pillaged over the years. Much of the dispersal of the imperial collection in particular took place during the looting by the Crusaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Jean de Villehardouin describes the stealing of the expected gold, silver, and gems in his account of the Crusades but also lists “satin and silk,” in addition to furs, mentioned before, as being removed from Constantinople’s imperial storage.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the Byzantines themselves are partly to blame for the lack of surviving garments. Clothing was worn again and again, passed down to family members, or given to the local church or monastery until worn out. Ecclesiastical vestments, some of which do survive from the Middle Byzantine period, are an exception.<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiastical garments were worn only for certain liturgical occasions and stored away so the wear and tear on these items was considerably less than for secular clothing.<sup>4</sup> Despite this grim situation, some textiles survive with a small number of those fragments possibly belonging to Middle Byzantine garments.

#### **Catalog of Material Evidence for Dress**

Nearly seventy-five pieces of silk survive from the Middle Byzantine Empire, but the majority of these did not belong to articles of clothing.<sup>5</sup> Archaeological finds from Byzantine Egypt, with its dry climate, which is

optimum for survival, provide hundreds of wool and linen fabric that for the most part originally decorated garments, such as *clavi* (stripes) or roundels.<sup>6</sup> However, no linen or wool dress fragments from the middle era live on. It is not surprising to find that silk, more precious than linen, was preserved but no complete garments of silk exist from the eighth to twelfth centuries.

Middle Byzantine textiles have been analyzed extensively, as discussed in the introduction, but with attention paid primarily to the structure of the fabric; also many scholars have sought proper provenance for these textiles, a difficult task given the similarities between Islamic, Central Asian, and Byzantine textiles. However, except when the original purpose of the textile is extremely obvious, for example, an imperial hanging with an inscription or an *epitaphios*, textile historians have not attempted to imagine the original use of these bits of cloth. This chapter and the accompanying catalog (see appendix) are composed of the textiles from the surviving corpus that likely were part of clothing.

### *Criteria for Inclusion in the Catalog*

It is important to note that the catalog was compiled with great caution as textiles had a myriad of uses in the medieval world, far beyond our use of them today. Only textiles made between the eighth and twelfth centuries within the borders of the Byzantine Empire were examined; textiles that are of questionable Byzantine origin were excluded even though many examples seem to have been part of garments. Textile fragments that were too small to extrapolate their original use were not included. Some recent archaeological investigations have uncovered clothing fragments in grave finds. As these have not been fully examined by the excavators or are not yet published, these are also not included here.<sup>7</sup> Following the discussion of these fragments, comparanda from surrounding cultures or Byzantine material of the later or earlier period that survives in more complete condition will be used to corroborate the material evidence presented here.

The textiles discussed here exhibit one or more of the following qualities that suggest that they were once part of a garment:

1. seams of some kind, 2. a pattern or repeated motif that is within the scale of a garment, as opposed to a larger one that could not be worn, 3. a weight that suggests that the textile could have been worn, and 4. a design that is in keeping with descriptions of dress. Many fragments contain such enormous patterns that a single eagle or griffin on the textile could wrap around a large man's body more than once, so the design would have been too magnified to be legible on a garment. A few surviving textiles were so thickly woven

that they were certainly rugs, or something similar and, 5. a provenance of sorts exists for the fragment, in a few cases, that tells us that it was once part of clothing.

The fifth criterion is difficult to confirm, as it is usually based on a tradition surrounding the object rather than established facts. However, the lore surrounding a garment—typically that it belonged to a famous person—implies that the textile was a garment at one time for the story to have been believed and repeated, even if the connection with an emperor or saint is dubious.

Beginning with the first criterion, only two works, catalog numbers five and eleven, have seams that demonstrate that these were once part of garments. Medieval garments had fewer seams as they were usually not tailored at the waist, bust line, and hips as today's clothing often is. In general, only the sides of a garment would be sewn; tunics could be woven with their sleeves and neck hole in a single piece, making it only necessary to fold the completed garment along the neck and shoulder line and sew the back to the front along the sides.<sup>8</sup> In addition, art dealers typically cut the seams off of textile fragments rendering them prettier, and therefore, more saleable. For example, out of eight textiles examined at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, four had been cut.<sup>9</sup> Anna Muthesius published two fragments displaying seams. One non-figurative yellow textile from the Museo Arcivescovile in Ravenna has purplish-red *clavi* woven into it, which is common ornamentation for clothing (see catalog no. 11).<sup>10</sup> She indicated that the garment may have been part of an ecclesiastical *dalmatic*, as it and others, were found in bishops' sarcophagi.<sup>11</sup> However, there is no ornamentation or documentation to suggest that it was ecclesiastical. Furthermore, lay garments often had second lives in the church.<sup>12</sup> Muthesius examined a second garment with seams down both sides and evidence of a hem (see catalog no. 5).<sup>13</sup> The fact that the textile is now housed in Sion Cathedral and the wide hem led Muthesius to assume that the fragment belonged to an ecclesiastical *dalmatic*. However, the griffin pattern is standard for secular garments, discussed later in this chapter, and the wide hem could have belonged to any number of Byzantine garments, such as a *kabbadion*. Both the Ravenna fragment and the Sion Cathedral fragment, with their rare examples of seams, definitively belonged to garments, possibly lay ones.

The scale of patterns used on textiles, our second criterion, is crucial for determining whether or not a fragment once belonged to clothing. Every textile chosen for this catalog has a small-scale pattern with the exception of catalog number eleven, just discussed, which is plain. A majority of surviving eighth- to twelfth-century textiles has enormous patterns only fit to cover a wall.<sup>14</sup> The textiles chosen for this catalog have repeat patterns

allowing an estimate to be made about the scale of the pattern against a human body. For example, catalog number three displays two bullocks in the center with the beginnings of two more bullocks above and below the central design. The dimensions of this textile, ca. 33 × 20 centimeters, would suggest that on a full-length garment at least four rows of bullocks would have fit between the shoulders and hem.<sup>15</sup> Two bullocks would have filled the width of the garment, displaying in rows across the upper chest, waist, knees, and hem. An examination of a second textile from the Vatican with roundels containing hunters (catalog no. 7) proves the point further. A roundel and the beginning of a second roundel measure 42.2 centimeters in height, the torso-length of a typical woman. Three to four roundels would have run from this hypothetical woman's shoulder to ankle if the hunting motif were on a full-length tunic. Pictorial evidence demonstrates that the number of repeats on these textiles is appropriate for clothing. For example, the figures at Selime, discussed in chapter 3 (plate 14), have three roundels running the length of their caftans. Anna Kaznitze, pictured in Kastoria and discussed in chapter 3 (plate 16), has nearly four foliate ovals on the length of her cloak. The textiles chosen for the catalog of dress fragments contain patterns that not only are in proportion the human body, but also are similar to the size of decoration found on clothing in painting.

Every textile in the catalog of dress fragments compiled here is of a lightweight weave that moves and breathes so that it could easily have been worn. Interestingly, every textile in this catalog is also of the same type of weave: weft-facing twill, a type of weave where the weft threads form a diagonal across the textile as it is being woven over the warp threads.<sup>16</sup> The majority of the twills in this catalog have paired warp threads, which are common after the ninth century, as opposed to single warps.<sup>17</sup> None of these textiles are of a tapestry weave or contain knots of any kind, which suggest other uses for the textile, such as a carpet or hanging. While tabby, lampas, and satin weaves can also be used to make clothing, satin weaves are not found in the Middle Byzantine world and lampas are not widely used; tabby weave, the simplest technique, is more common in the Early Byzantine period.<sup>18</sup> The weave and thereby the weight of the textiles catalogued here is appropriate for clothing.

Nearly all of the textiles in this catalog contain designs described by Byzantine authors. As early as the fifth century, Byzantine writers describe animals, human beings, and gospel stories woven on clothing. “[On garments] you may see lions and leopards, bears, bulls and dogs, forests and rocks, hunters and [in short] the whole repertory of painting that imitates nature. . . The more religious among rich men and women, . . . [have] the story of the Gospels. . .”<sup>19</sup> Given the continuity in textile design between the early and middle and late periods of the Byzantine empire, this description

likely continued to hold true in our period. Four textiles (see catalog nos. 1, 5, 9, and 13) display griffins, seemingly a very popular motif in Byzantium.

Animals, in general were popular, as seen on catalog numbers three, seven and ten in addition to the griffin examples. Constantine VII specifically mentions a garment decorated with bullocks, which are found on the silk from St. Servatius<sup>20</sup> (see catalog no. 3). Although this textile is unlikely to be the exact garment that Constantine VII mentioned, it is intriguing to imagine it as a courtly tunic. Constantine VII also mentions several other garments ornamented with animals in his text, including eagles and lions.<sup>21</sup>

A roundel, decorated with a foliate or geometric pattern, surrounds the main design in four of the clothing fragments, including two of the griffin examples. A quick look at all of the surviving Byzantine textiles shows that roundels were the most popular design for any type of textile; the commonness of the roundel on the clothing in the painted portraits presented in this text further suggests that this was a desirable pattern for clothing in particular (see especially examples discussed in chapter 3).

Also found on several of these textiles (catalog nos. 4, 6, 7, and 8) are human figures. Number four is an imperial portrait and number six displays a portrait of a princely figure. Mounted hunters inside roundels, found on catalog number seven, hunt wild animals. The so-called Dioskurides silk (catalog no. 8) displays spearmen as well, who may or may not be the mythological twins. Again, these types of designs are described in Byzantine texts. One telling oration in the year 1196 evidences a wide variety of imperial portraits in all art forms and mentions hunting scenes as well,

emperors [should] be represented in public pictures and appear imposing in these colorful depictions of their purple robes and crowns, and that these may thus raise the imperial majesty to the height of glory. To these. . . some have added barbarians being vanquished and slain, other's depict Victories hovering above their heads and crowning them, and cities bearing tribute to the emperor on account of this. Others have chosen to depict their well-aimed shots at wild beasts, and to present the various and manifold shapes and figures of animals. The law of our society most commendably ordains these things, in order that everything by which emperors are honoured may be more lasting.<sup>22</sup>

John Malalas described a sixth-century garment worn by the Persian king with a portrait of the Emperor Justin on it.<sup>23</sup> The catalog of clothing fragments comprises primarily of figurative textiles, which must have been reserved for wealthier patrons, as the previous quotation implies a “rich” audience for such clothes.

The remaining textiles in the catalog, numbers two and twelve contain abstracted foliate patterns. Such designs are again attested to in the sources. A fifth-century detailed passage about weaving notes the “. . . myriad images of various animals and human forms, some hunting and some praying and pictures of trees. . .” found on textiles.<sup>24</sup> Indeed elaborate palm-like trees with fronds and vine-like plants curling into complex designs are commonly found on Byzantine textiles, such as these two examples.

A final criterion must be examined: the lore surrounding the textile. Three of the textiles are traditionally thought to be clothing and were recorded as such in the early records of the collections that house them. Catalog numbers eleven and nine were found in tombs, strongly suggesting that they were part of clothing as the deceased likely wore them. Catalog number two is said to have been part of the mantle of Otto I (r. 936–73). Unfortunately these links to clothing cannot be confirmed and could even be spurious. Catalog number eleven, discussed earlier, was pulled from a sarcophagus in St. Apollinare in Classe in 1950;<sup>25</sup> catalog number nine is said to have come from a tomb of St. Viventia in Cologne,<sup>26</sup> which unlike the St. Apollinare silk cannot be confirmed or denied. Today two fragments of this silk exist, housed in two collections, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Schnütgen Museum in Köln. Furthermore, catalog number two’s illustrious provenance also cannot be confirmed. Nevertheless, the tradition surrounding these textiles implies that they must have resembled clothing at one time for their provenance to have been credible. While I would not advocate for fragment number two belonging to Otto I, the legend indicates that the textile once looked like it belonged on a mantle. Similarly, catalog number nine’s supposed origins were believed because at one time the textile likely looked like a woman’s garment.

The criteria established here have separated the thirteen Middle Byzantine textiles in the catalog from the corpus of textiles of this period. Each textile in the catalog meets at least three of the criteria making it likely that this group is comprised of fragments of dress.

### Comparanda

Fortunately, groups of material evidence exist that may be used for comparison, helping us to further imagine Middle Byzantine secular garments. A large number of garments survive from Byzantine Egypt, including complete linen tunics, hats, and shoes.<sup>27</sup> An entire outfit survives from the Late Byzantine period: a dress and under tunic with shoes and headband found on a young aristocratic woman was excavated at Mystra, Greece.<sup>28</sup> A Nubian bishop, Bishop Timotheos of Ibrim (consecrated 1372), was

buried in everyday trousers beneath his ecclesiastical alb and cowed cloak.<sup>29</sup> Among the most exciting finds for dress historians comes from Moscevaja Balka, where several garments and accessories in exceptional condition from Persian territories were discovered in intermittent excavations during the twentieth century.<sup>30</sup> The clothing found here was likely headed for eighth- or ninth-century Constantinople, even though the clothes themselves were not of Byzantine manufacture.<sup>31</sup> These notable bodies of comparanda help us to envision Middle Byzantine dress, acknowledging of course that in these various regions and times, one must account for differing taste in clothing; climate and available materials might also account for differences between Byzantine dress and the clothing found in these comparable sites.

The finds in Byzantine Egypt are too numerous to compare here item-by-item, but some general observations can be made, as there is little variation in the styles and types of clothing dating between the third and seventh centuries. Hats, mainly turbans and woolen caps, have been found at many Egyptian excavations; while these compare to painted examples, discussed in chapters 2–4, no fragments in this catalog can be supposed to have been a hat. Shoes have also been found; these are made of leather or are woven like baskets from foliage of some sort and are not made of textiles. One pair of cloth shoes, discussed in chapter 1, survive from Germany and contain small roundels in green and yellow, which closely parallels the types of designs seen in this catalog.

Tunics make up the largest group of garments found in Egypt. Nearly all are large t-shaped garments made of linen, with wool decorations; they are mostly off-white—although a few red tunics survive—with decorated *clavi* and roundels of red, green, and yellow with bits of black, blue, purple, and white; most examples are decorated with secular and figurative designs. These notably do not directly compare with the Middle Byzantine dress fragments presented here, which are made of silk and very colorful. However, the decorative bands added to tunics are in keeping with the Middle Byzantine dress fragments. The color scheme is generally the same: red is the most popular color, followed by yellow and green, with the remaining colors used sparingly. The designs of the Egyptian collateral material also focus on figurative designs with geometric patterns as a secondary motif. Furthermore, the designs are dense with little empty space. The differences between the Egyptian material and the later Byzantine fragments may be explained by other factors. Linen was a product of Egypt so it is not surprising to find it used there in greater quantity; furthermore as Egypt was no longer part of the empire in the Middle Byzantine period, the use of exported goods from Egypt may have declined. As we saw in chapter 4, the clothing of non-elites was not decorated as heavily as that of

courtiers, as we might expect; we should not be surprised, then, to find that a large sampling of clothing is decorated more minimally, reflecting a majority of the population, comprised of the middle and lower classes. Middle Byzantine fragments survive in treasuries and museums precisely because they were precious and heavily ornamented, so we are not looking at a random sampling as we are in Byzantine Egypt where the clothing was found primarily in graves.

The grave of a Byzantine elite woman was uncovered in St. Sophia at Mystra, dating to the early fifteenth-century. She was discovered wearing a sleeveless dress with an under-tunic, leather shoes and a silk *diadem*.<sup>32</sup> The dress reflects a Western influence, as do the dresses of the women in Kastoria discussed in chapter 3 because of the fitted bodice, which tapered out into an A-line skirt, and the pattern of the fabric. The remains of the dress reveal a pattern of large flowers within a framework of interlaced ogivals with smaller foliate patterns between. The silk is monochrome, now a reddish-brownish color, and it was reinforced with a wool or linen lining, now mostly destroyed. The silk is in keeping with the all-over designs found on Middle Byzantine clothing of the wealthy, as seen in this catalog, and has much in common with the fabric worn by Anna Kaznitze in her portrait in Kastoria (plate 16), which is also a floral within ogival pattern.

The under-tunic is of a large t-shape with wide sleeves. It is also monochrome silk, but is probably undyed. Two similar geometric patterns of lozenges and X's were created with the damask weave, one covering the shoulder area and the other covering the rest of the undergarment. This young member of the Byzantine aristocracy at Mystra also wore leather-soled shoes, decorated with silk cord, and a silk diadem that was woven into her braid. This outfit, especially the outer dress, is rightly associated with Italian and French models, owing to their large populations in Mystra; the style and pattern are in keeping with Western fashions.<sup>33</sup> The similarity to the Kastorian models and to the fabrics presented here, suggests that the Western influence arrived in the Middle era and that Byzantine textiles may have equally influenced Western designs. Furthermore, the Late Byzantine examples from this tomb help us to envision the transformation of shapeless tunics to more fitted dresses that began in the Middle Byzantine period without evolving much further in the Late period.

A fourteenth-century bishop, Timotheos of Ibrim in Nubia, was found intact, fully clothed, and wrapped in a shroud in 1964 during excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society.<sup>34</sup> While his tunic and cloak with cowl were likely ecclesiastical garments, his trousers and belt beneath were not. His tunic, white with wide sleeves, was likely an alb rather than a secular garment. He wore a veil, which Elizabeth Crowfoot believes was a turban-like bishop's hat worn in the Coptic Church.<sup>35</sup> His pants and belt, however,



not part of any known ecclesiastical garb, represent a rare look at undergarments. Both the belt and pants are made of undyed, tabby woven cotton. Cotton was largely unknown in the Middle Byzantine Empire, but was used in Islamic Egypt, particularly in Nubia.<sup>36</sup> None of our dress fragments are undyed and only one is plain. Tabby weave, the simplest type, was typical in the Early Byzantine era but had fallen out of use, as was noted previously. Because these pants are undergarments, there was no incentive to use anything but simply woven and plain fabric. The trousers were straight with a baggy crotch and wide waistline, in need of the belt. The leggings seen in several images discussed in chapter 4 appear tight in the leg and are belted along with the tunic at the waist, suggesting that they may have been loose around the groin underneath the tunics. The painted examples appear to be tighter in the leg than the Nubian pants and it is difficult to ascertain if this difference is a real change in style between the Middle period and the fourteenth century or imagined by the artist. Regardless, these pants stand out from the items in this catalog, adding to our picture of what might have been worn beneath the ubiquitous tunic.

Eighteen items of dress were excavated at Moscevaja Balka, a mountain pass and active trade route, between the Caucasus and the Byzantine capital. The garments found were part of a caravan bound for Byzantine markets made up of eighth- to ninth-century Central Asian clothing.<sup>37</sup> These clothes are not Byzantine but must reflect Byzantine tastes as they were headed for Byzantine consumption. The items found parallel, with a few exceptions, the types of garments seen in Byzantine painted portraits: two caftans, a short jacket, two cloaks, two tunics, one pair of pants, one pair of knee-high hose, felt shoes, a turban, a child's shoe, a glove, and five hats. Every garment was made with a combination of linen and silk, with the exception of the shoes: one pair combined felt with leather and a child's shoe was made of linen, silk, and leather. Four of the items—a caftan, two cloaks, and one of the hats—were lined with fur: squirrel fur and sheepskin. As discussed in chapter 4, fur was associated with people in the countryside; as this caravan was traveling north of the Black Sea, the use of fur also suggests that these items were destined for cold-weather markets.

The finds at Moscevaja Balka represent an array of fabric choices: some like the Egyptian finds are ornamented only at edges of a garment, some are figuratively but subtly decorated in a single color, and still others display all over figurative designs like those included in this catalog. Griffins, covering the cuffs and collar of one of the dresses and the entire man's caftan, in addition to a hat, are a common motif at this find, as they were in the Byzantine clothing fragments presented here. In addition, many of the items have geometric patterns—stripes, dots, lozenges, and abstract foliate and floral designs. Notably, the main colors of choice are yellow and green

with some red and blue. We have seen that red is the most popular choice among Byzantine fabrics, perhaps because of its association with imperial dress, but yellow and green dyed the next largest group of surviving dress fragments. The Moscevaja Balka garments compare closely with the Middle Byzantine dress fragments, especially in the choice of fabrics, colors, and design.

Additionally, the types of clothing reflect Byzantine clothing choices as well. The caftans and cloaks are in the same form as those seen throughout this book. Some items exhibit buttons and more tailoring than we have generally seen, however, such as on the short jacket and on one of the caftans. However, these closely mirror the clothes seen on the Kastorian men and Georgians. Generally, the clothes are loosely fitted, however, in keeping with the majority of clothing presented here. The variety of hats and the slipper-like shoes also compares with the examples seen in the painted Byzantine sources.

### Conclusions

The portrait evidence presented in this book supports the wide use of figurative, or, at least, densely patterned clothing among the wealthy. Finds in Egypt, however, suggest the opposite; tunics excavated there are mostly plain with decorative stripes, collars, cuffs, and hems only. The Nubian find is also plain. The garments at Moscevaja Balka provide a variety of decorative schemes, from decorated trim to all-over patterns. The surviving Middle Byzantine dress fragments provide evidence only for the very decorated clothing in the spectrum. Middle Byzantine clothing probably also varied to the degree that these finds do, as it does in the pictorial evidence. What remains are naturally the prettiest textiles—the ones with patterns, expensive fabrics, and bright colors. The Byzantines coveted figurative textiles as they are specially mentioned in the written evidence; therefore the Byzantines themselves took greater care when wearing/using figuratively decorated textiles. Furthermore, when textiles made it to the West, as was often the case through diplomatic means or as booty, it seems Westerners had a taste for this type of heavily patterned garment as well.<sup>38</sup> Finally, as previously mentioned, modern-day art dealers have sought to preserve the ornamental textiles on clothing while unfortunately often discarding the rest. Under better conditions, such as in Egypt, the more mundane clothing remains intact in graves. Thus, it is not surprising that the clothing fragments in this catalog are primarily made up of the more richly designed textiles.

The patterns presented in this catalog may also be seen as representative of what was fashionable among Byzantine elites. All of the patterns were

touted in Byzantine sources for their beauty. Many of the patterns are repeated even in this small group, suggesting that these were popular designs made to meet a demand. It is the desire, which can be inferred from the proliferation of these motifs and the admiration of them in the written evidence that constitutes fashion. It is impossible to extrapolate the fashion market based on the small sample in this catalog; nevertheless the popularity of the figuratively decorated garment demonstrates that the Byzantines exhibited preferences about what to wear and thereby participated in a fashion system.<sup>39</sup>

Like the majority of surviving images and descriptions of dress of eighth- to twelfth centuries, these fragments probably belonged to the clothes of the wealthy; these fragments are made of silk and have luxurious patterns. Because of the limited number of surviving dress fragments cataloged here and the skewed picture they present, as they belonged only to the finest of Byzantine clothes, this catalog represents the beginnings of a line of research, which can yield more information about Byzantine dress.

The criteria established here prompted a rethinking of a small number of Middle Byzantine fragments. Given their patterns, weight, weave, scale, and the occasional seam, these fragments can be looked at anew as partial garments rather than simply bits of cloth. While it is impossible to imagine what types of garments these once formed, coupled with the pictorial evidence in the previous chapters the look and feel of Byzantine dress is clearer: clothing was brightly colored and heavily patterned, as finances permitted; clothes were loose fitting with little or no tailoring for the most part; the materials chosen were lightweight, suggesting that layers were used for adding warmth rather than warmer fabrics in most cases although fur was sometimes worn; there was minimal change over time or variety in a given period in fabric design. Saturated colors were preferred with red dominating the palette on seven out of the thirteen textiles and used in still three others. Dark blues/greens and various shades of yellow are also common.

During this investigation I found a large number of collections that have textile fragments that are not only unpublished, but also not cataloged, making the hunt for dress fragments especially difficult.<sup>40</sup> As museums undertake a reexamination of their textile fragments and archaeological excavations continue to catalog their findings, surely more clothing fragments will come to light. It is hoped that the criteria given here for distinguishing clothing fragments from other types of textiles can further this line of research.

## CONCLUSION

A code of dress can be detected in Byzantine representations, which likely also reflect the real use of dress in Byzantine society. The conscious system of dress that signifies rank and wealth is most obvious in the imperial garments, the *loros*, *tzangia*, and crown. While hardly ever worn, these garments were used in images as an iconic representation of the empire itself. Imperial couples asserted themselves as a dynasty, by wearing their unified, non-gendered regalia, and as heirs to the Roman Empire, from where these garments were derived. Courtiers, similarly concerned with the inheritance of Roman administrative and military bureaucracies, which manifested visually in court ceremony, were most concerned with being dressed appropriately, finding their place within the hierarchical system of prescribed dress. The Patriarch Photios in a letter to Boris of Bulgaria advised him that to gain admiration from his subjects, he must be well dressed, surprising coming from a cleric who should have set an example for modesty.<sup>1</sup> Here, well dressed implies wearing the business attire fitting for the job of ruler. Certainly, the works of Philotheos and Constantine VII aspired to suitably attired courtiers at all ceremonies.

Artists imposed a system of dress on the wearer to specify status, especially in images of non-elites. The system, clearly one based on stereotypes of the poor and working class, may or may not reflect the clothing actually worn by these groups. Likely, in service to the art the clothing was ornamented or colored to a greater extent than real garments worn by such groups. In addition, the lack of variety shown in the clothing of non-elites—the majority are depicted wearing short tunics—was probably based in reality but not a complete picture of the dress worn by non-elites.

Those outside of the court, seen in the nobility of the borderlands, dressed also according to a code of dress accepted within their respective micro-society, but the choices that they made to signify their own identities were largely unconscious. The aristocracy outside of the capital expressed their wealth by wearing locally defined status symbols: a particular cut of dress, a *tiraz* band, fabric with roundels, etc. While a Byzantine elite did not likely dress to identify oneself consciously, we can nonetheless read certain

messages in their portraits. For example, the image of Michael Skepides subtly conveys his courtly title (his sword), Cappadocian roots (his turban, caftan, and the *tiraz*), and wealth (the fabric with roundels used to make his caftan) (plate 6c).

The rigid hierarchy of the painted images of dress, and probably the actual use of dress, did not preclude an interest in fashion from developing in the Byzantine Empire, however. Fashion trends infected the dress of courtiers, who wore embroidered bands, colorful fabrics, and hats, which became part of their prescribed insignia. Even the imperial *loros* changed over time, becoming slightly easier to wear and more streamlined, reflecting a fashion choice rather than any prescription. "Fashion," the changes in the customary code of dress within a particular group, was primarily played out in realms farthest from the capital. Greater variety is seen in the clothing of the elites on the borders of the empire; styles reflect pan-Mediterranean fashions from Norman Sicily to the Armenian and Islamic shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Being appropriately dressed at court or richly attired for one's portrait was a matter of pride. For instance, St. Theodora of Thessalonike, in a moment of weakness, asks her abbess to have her daughter transferred to a convent of better dressed nuns because she "[could not] endure to see the daughter born of [her] womb clothed in a cheap and tattered cloth."<sup>2</sup> While we can discern little of non-elite dress, the rare deviations from the code of dress used by artists hints at a diversity in dress of the middle and lower classes too, which can only point to a fashion system that operated outside of the typology seen in the majority of Byzantine painting.

The movement of fashions in the Byzantine Empire may surprise modern readers because the most elite citizens of the capital city, the imperial entourage, and courtiers, were not the main purveyors of taste. The elite on the outskirts as well as those in other nations transmitted the majority of new trends encountered in this study. Significantly, the movement of fashion parallels the textile industry itself.

Advancements in the silk industry began first in Islam and then the eastern part of the empire, moving to the capital, following the silk route itself. While Constantinople quickly established imperial weaving workshops when silk cultivation was introduced into the empire, this created a prescribed use of silks and often not for clothing, rather than any innovation in fabric design or cut of garments. Notably, the most spectacular international fair for the textile trade, the fair of St. Demetrios, was not in Constantinople, which was heavily regulated, but rather was in Thessalonike. The Normans who introduced dresses to the Greeks, began to affect fashion not only when they were invading the empire, but also when they themselves gained the ability to manufacture their own silks. Wealth, in and of

itself, was not an indicator of fashion, rather wealth combined with access to a pan-Mediterranean culture and not a purely Byzantine Greek one, provided the greatest breeding ground for a fashion system.

I do not mean to imply that the imperial couple lacked taste because they wore what they were told. Their use of the imperial garments as well as courtly dress showed political savvy, in its complex message of dynastic power, wealth, and kinship with the Roman Empire, while remaining a distinctly Byzantine statement that stood out from other leaders in the medieval world. This message was conveyed to medieval Europe and the Middle East, through coinage and gifts of manuscripts, textiles, and other luxury goods, replete with images of Byzantine imperial dress.

Neither should the careful selections of garments made by the wealthy of the borderlands be attributed to a materialism and obsession with fashion demonstrated in the coveting their neighbors' dress. Rather we find not only a refined taste in clothes, where garments were elegantly cut and headgear was varied and dramatic, but also an expert use of clothes to express power in a multiethnic society outside of the capital. We can improve upon the usual summation of Byzantine fashion using merely the images of Justinian and Theodora<sup>3</sup> to an understanding that dress was as much a part of Byzantine culture as fashion is a part of ours.

The code of dress in the Byzantine Empire strongly suggests that a fashion system—and not merely a textile industry—existed. Necessary to fashion is not only the desire for particular styles but also a system where clothes are designed, created, and sold. Ample evidence for the textile industry tells of course that clothing was bought and sold. But the naysayers of fashion in the pre-Renaissance world argue that clothes were not designed with changes in cuts, ornament, and fabric necessary to constitute the design of different fashions for the market; rather they argue that essentially all medieval clothing was cut the same (billowing tunics of different lengths) with variance in fabric based on wealth (wool for the poor, silk for the rich).

The tunics and chlamydes worn at court represent the typical business attire for most citizens, including women. In Cappadocia however the well-dressed men and women wore wide caftans and turbans. Caftans and long tunics are as different as dress slacks, and jeans, although the cuts are similar. During the same period in Kastoria, we find John Lemniotes wears a short-sleeved caftan with a belt and women wear dresses with defined waists. Surely this variety points to the existence of designers of some sort; certainly we cannot say that these clothes have essentially the same cut.

The finds, like those at Moscevaja Balka and Mystra, while not Middle Byzantine, suggest a broad range of styles pointing also to the existence of fashion designers; the short, fitted caftan with griffins and cropped jacket, found at Moscevaja Balka are not simply the products of tailors working at

the behest of a client, they are evidence of an institutionalized fashion system that designed clothes and exported them to Byzantium. The Middle Byzantine clothing fragments, while not indicators of cuts of garments, show a tremendous array of fabric designs, even while the taste for roundels or griffins persisted. If one incorporates the fabrics depicted in representations into the corpus of Byzantine fabric, one can easily imagine fabric designers within the Byzantine fashion system.

Finally, change in designs and the taste for them is necessary for a fashion system. The length of a fashion season must have been extremely long in the premodern world because of the limited technology for making clothes and the necessary reuse of garments. I propose that the Middle Byzantine period itself is akin to a fashion season; we detect a shift from dress of the early period and another shift begins again in the twelfth century with the influx of Western styles to the empire. The acceptance of Islamic styles to the capital follows in the thirteenth century. The clothing code does change, albeit slowly, in the Byzantine world, a necessary requirement for fashion to exist.

Finally, I hope that this study offers new readings of Middle Byzantine paintings through dress. The modern viewer does not necessarily get a correct picture of dress but rather gleans what garments embodied power in a particular region, such as caftans and *tiraz*. The code of dress in paintings would have been generally understood by the Byzantines making it important for us to read paintings as they would have. The Byzantine viewer did not simply assess the iconography of a manuscript or donor portrait to understand its meaning, he incorporated the clothing, hats, shoes, and belts represented in a painting into his reading of the work. Byzantine painters participated in a complex articulation of class through clothing reflecting the poor off of the pure and modest saint or wealthy courtly figure. Perhaps Anna Radene's fashions suggested that she was part of the elite in Kastoria, who became wealthy from an influx of Crusaders, a member of a sort of *nouveau riche*. Perhaps Michael Skepides's caftan, *tiraz*, and turban pointed to his negotiating with the Armenian government exchanging land for military support against the Muslims.

Dress also aids in a new understanding of Byzantine portrait painting in particular. Because there is little attention to likeness and no one sat for portraits so far as we know, portraiture itself must be reassessed in Byzantine studies. The "sitter" was presented by the artist using dress, rather than exact facial and bodily features. As the majority of viewers had no means by which to verify if a portrait resembled the emperor or donor, because in many cases we can assume the viewer did not know the "sitter," likeness is achieved through attributes of dress, that is through the code. Profession, gender, and wealth can be read in a portrait, thereby identifying the sitter. This is true for the non-elites found in the backgrounds of paintings as well.

Fashion, then, is used in painted representations for further identification of the portrait subject. What is signified by dress—courtier, emperor, farmer, working-class woman—is made more specific through individual fashion choices. Fashion conveys messages such as, “I am part of a sophisticated, military elite,” or “I am the wife of a hunter.” Most of these messages are lost to us due to the limitations of painted representations and our knowledge of fashions to date.

Today, fashion is used in representations to develop a character in a movie or it acts as an editorial comment in magazines such as *Vanity Fair*. For example, one can easily discern a wealthy Texas oil family from a Newport family of tobacco heirs through clothing (albeit stereotypical), despite the comparable income of both. A careful study of dress allows the Byzantine scholar to make similar distinctions in Byzantine painting, separating Nikephoros III Botaneiates’s stylish *vestitores* from his other courtiers, for example (plate 3). The clothing of performers, for example, was intertwined with a discourse on Byzantine sexual mores, allowing us to perhaps read the snake charmers as sexually available and the Miriam dancers less so. In several Byzantine manuscripts, the covered women served a moralistic agenda concerning the role of women and did not necessarily reflect reality, and so on. The code of dress in painting may be cryptic to us now, but is useful in broadening our understanding of Byzantine works of art.

There is more work to be done in the study of Byzantine dress. Philologists and art historians together need to tackle dress terminology, which is still often unclear. Experts in Arabic could shed further light on many Greek clothing terms, many of which likely derived from Islamic dress. Late Byzantine dress is another important area for study. The pictorial record of late portraits is vast when compared with the middle era and will prove to be fascinating for the study of Late Byzantine dress. However, later dress must be set against the backdrop of rising power in the West and a textile industry centered in Italy rather than in the Byzantine Empire, separating it from the pinnacle of fashion attained during the middle years of the Empire. Finally, scholars of Byzantine art need to incorporate dress into their interpretations of manuscripts and other paintings giving attention to other dialogues concerning class structure, for example, and moving beyond standard interpretations that rely solely on iconography or style.

Middle Byzantine dress was a powerful mode of expression both in reality and representation. Writers and artists were keenly aware of dress, and fully exploited tropes of modesty, power, profession, and locale using dress as the vehicle. The selective choices of fabric, cut, and accessories made by Byzantines of all classes demonstrate that they not only participated in, but also propelled fashions in the medieval world.



## APPENDIX

### MIDDLE BYZANTINE DRESS FRAGMENTS

#### **Appendix No. 1**

Object Name: Fragment

Collection: Le Monastier, St. Chaffre

Accession Number: Unnumbered

Date: Tenth century

Dimensions: 52.5 × 64.5 cm

Origin: Byzantine, Constantinople?

Material: Silk, twill

Description: Adorsed spotted griffins surround a central motif of a stylized grapevine with a pair of birds on its lower branches and a pair of quadrupeds at the top. Small dogs walk at the edges below the beaks of the griffins. Set on a red background with dark-greenish brown, yellow and off-white design.

#### **Appendix No. 2**

Object Name: Fragment

Collection: Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, Kunstgewerbemuseum

Accession Number: 78.458

Date: Tenth to eleventh centuries

Dimensions: 15.5 × 28.5 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, twill

Description: Made of three pieces sewn together. Red design of lozenges with foliate motif in a pearl-bordered medallion with additional foliate outside of medallions on a red ground.

#### **Appendix No. 3**

Object Name: Fragment

Collection: Maastricht, St. Servatius

Accession Number: 6

Date: Tenth century

Dimensions: Approximately  $33 \times 20$  cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk

Description: Two squares with lobes on each side enclose quadrupeds (bullocks?); a bit of a third square is at the lower left. Background of spades enclosed in lozenges all in dark blue and red on yellow ground.

#### **Appendix No. 4**

Object Name: Fragment

Collection: London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Accession Number: T.762 and A-1893

Date: Eighth or ninth century

Dimensions:  $50.8 \times 10.2$  cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, twill

Description: A charioteer, possibly an emperor, stands in a quadriga, woven in red, yellow, green, and white on red ground.

#### **Appendix No. 5**

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: Sion, Cathedral Treasury

Accession Number: Unnumbered

Date: Tenth to eleventh centuries

Dimensions:  $51.3 \times 107.5$  cm

Origin: Byzantine possibly Constantinople

Material: Silk, twill

Description: Two griffins on hind legs face each other. Design in what was probably red with yellow outline and blue on the eye. Griffins set in a yellow roundel with a thin pearl border and wide band of spade-shaped leaves. Partial foliate motifs between the roundels.

#### **Appendix No. 6**

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: Sens Cathedral Treasury

Accession Number: B140

Date: Eighth to ninth centuries

Dimensions:  $9.7 \times 10.6$  cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk twill

Description: Simple roundel containing a bust portrait of a figure with shoulder length hair wearing an elaborate pearl necklace. Two partial foliate designs can be seen beneath the figure that appear to be the edges of larger roundels. Design in green on red ground.

### Appendix No. 7

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: Vatican, Museo Sacro

Accession Number: T 118

Date: Eighth to ninth centuries

Dimensions: 42.2 × 34.7 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk twill

Description: Roundels with a foliate border encircled by a thinner pearl border, enclose a pair of hunters facing each other and each spearing a lion on its hind legs. Between them is a palmette tree. Two hunters below, who face away from each other, each spear springing tigers. Partial star motifs decorated with varying geometric motifs can be seen between the roundels. Design in yellow, green, and off-white on red ground.

### Appendix No. 8

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: Maastricht, St. Servatius

Accession Number: 24 and 37–6

Date: Eighth to ninth centuries

Dimensions: Largest piece: 55 × 53 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, twill

Description: Two spearmen—the so-called Dioskurides—stand together on a column. The figures hold lances and shields and winged figures fly toward them. Two small figures, each sacrificing a bull, kneel on either side of the column. Entire design is encircled by a roundel with an undulating foliate motif; the roundels are linked to the next roundel at the top, sides, and bottom.

### Appendix No. 9

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts and Köln, Schnütgen Museum

Accession Number: Boston 33.648, Köln N29

Date: Ninth to tenth centuries

Dimensions: 34 × 20 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, twill

Description: Griffins attacking quadrupeds in roundels that are linked at top, bottom, and sides by smaller medallions all in red. The griffins face alternately right and left. Design in red on an off-white ground. Found in the tomb of St. Ursula, Viventia, Cologne.

### Appendix No. 10

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Accession Number: Unknown

Date: Tenth century

Dimensions: 19.1 × 38.7 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk

Descriptions: Rows of medallions in bluish-purple, each with rampant winged quadrupeds surrounding a tree. Small lozenges interspersed with small circular motif on a brownish (originally light purple?) background.

### Appendix No. 11

Object Name: Tunic fragment

Collection: Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile

Accession Number: Unnumbered

Date: Eight to ninth centuries

Dimensions: Approximately 150 cm in length

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk

Dimensions: Yellow silk with reddish-purple *davi* woven into the fabric.

### Appendix No. 12

Object Name: Fragment

Collection: New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum

Accession Number: 1902-1-212

Date: Eighth to ninth centuries

Dimensions: 25 × 18.5 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, plain compound weft twill

Description: Large X's with flower in center, filled with stripes. Between the X's are small ovals, half of which have birds, the other half of which have palmettes. Design in green, yellow, and tan on navy blue background.

### Appendix No. 13

Object Name: Roundels

Collection: New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum

Accession Number: 1902-1-214

Date: Seventh to eleventh centuries

Dimensions: 30.5 × 16.5 cm

Origin: Byzantine

Material: Silk, plain compound weft twill

Description: Two roundels with griffins in tan, mauve, and dark green on dark blue background. Roundels are bordered in foliate motif linked to other roundels at top, bottom, and sides with smaller medallions.

## NOTES

### Introduction

1. For example, one group of courtiers arrives at the *Chrysotriklinos* for a procession to Hagia Sophia wearing the *skaramangion*; later they are given crowns in the Emperor's chambers. When they arrive at Hagia Sophia, they wear *chlamydes* and their heads are no longer covered. Upon returning to the palace, they take off their crowns (which must have been put on again at some point) and *chlamydes*, and wear a *divetesion* into the *Daphne* apartments. Finally they enter the sacred palace wearing a *sagion*, Constantine VII, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, trans. A. Vogt (Paris: Societe d'Edition, 1935), pp. 3–17.
2. For example at Charlemagne's court, Anna Muthesius. "The Impact of the Mediterranean Silk Trade on Western Europe before 1200 AD," in *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, ed. A. Muthesius (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), p. 209.
3. Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984), p. 17.
4. A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie Liturgitseskikh Rukopisej Typika*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1895), p. 682. Trans. Deno John Geanokoplos in *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 314–15.
5. St. Theodora of Thessalonike is just one example among dozens, Alice-Mary Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), p. 324.
6. A.A. Vasiliev, "Harun Ibn Yahya and his Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 155.
7. It should be noted that Phaidonos Koukoules covered dress in his book, *Vyzantinon Vios kai Politismos*, Vol. 2 part 2 (Athens: Eortai kai Panagirismoi Ertia Eupopas Epaggelmatata kai midroemporion Koukoules, 1948), pp. 5–59. However, this study presents no historical framework for the clothing and merely discusses terminology, much of which is problematic. Elisabeth Piltz has written several studies on dress, but each deals with a small subset of dress—a type of garment or wearer in a specific period: Elisabeth Piltz, *Trois Sakkoï Byzantines* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1976); *Kamelaukion and Mitra* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1977);

- Le Costume Officiel des Dignitaires Byzantins à L'Epoque Paleologue* (Uppsala: S. Academie Upsaliensis, 1994); "Middle Byzantine Court Costume," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829–1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997). Nancy Sevckenko and Alexander Kazhdan writing in the *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, have done some of the best and in some cases only scholarly research on certain items of dress despite it being a reference book rather than a comprehensive study. Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
8. Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 5–7.
  9. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, p. 5.
  10. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, p. 14.
  11. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, p. 17.
  12. Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. 363.
  13. Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, p. 200, n. 7.
  14. For example, this is seen in: Speros Vryonis Jr., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas," in *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations to the Muslim World*, ed. S.V. Jr. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971).
  15. For example, the term dress was used at the 1992 Conference on Dress and Gender published in Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, eds., *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).
  16. A look at the literature on dress in the Byzantine field alone finds this term in common use even in very recent texts. For example the entry for dress in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* is listed under "Costume," Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. The only survey book on Byzantine dress is: Mary Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959).
  17. Men rarely wrote on the subject of dress before the 1950s and have made no regular contributions to the field of dress history until the 1980s.
  18. Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Verlag Fassbaender, 1997).
  19. Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Textiles et mode Sassanides* (Paris: Musee du Louvre, 1997) and *Lyon Musee Historique des tissus de Lyon: Soieries* (Lyons: Musee Historiques des Tissus, 1986). See also her contributions to Jannic Durand et al., eds., *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, 1992).
  20. The most notable examples are: D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantine Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–92): 452–500 and George C. Maniatis, "Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 263–332. Other works on the subject include Lydre Hadermann-Misguiche, "Tissus de Pouvoir et Prestige sous Les Macedonians et Commenians," *DhAH* 17 (1993–94): 121–28.

- Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz* (Munich: Herausgegeben vom Bayerischen Nationalmuseum und der Staatlichen Ermitage, 1996). Muthesius, *Impact of the Mediterranean Silk Trade* and Michael Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 300–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) includes several discussions on textiles.
21. See, e.g., their latest work, Desirée Koslin and Janet E. Snyder, *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
  22. Maria Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).
  23. Warren Woodfin, *Late Byzantine Ecclesiastical Vestments and the Iconography of Sacerdotal Power* (Doctoral thesis, Art History Department, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2002).
  24. Robert S. Nelson, “Heavenly Allies at the Chora,” *GESTA* 43:1 (2004): 31–40; Joyce Kubiski, “Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cite des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master),” *GESTA* 40:2 (2001): 161–80; Catherine Jolivet-Levy, “Note sur la representation des archanges en costume imperial dans l’iconographie Byzantine,” *Cahiers Archeologiques* 46 (1998): 121–28.
  25. I have already begun research for a follow-up study on representations of dress in the Late Byzantine period. My research thus far indicates that clothing becomes more similar across regions in Europe, with the exception of hats, which become stronger indicators of national identity than in the Middle Byzantine period.
  26. See, e.g., Jenna Weismann Joselit, *A Perfect Fit: Clothes, Character and the Promise of America* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001), which proposes that new immigrants to America used dress to assimilate; fashions were newly available to them via the first off-the-rack markets and second-hand stores.

## Chapter 1 Imperial Dress

1. For more information on the Homilies see: George Galvaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) and Helen Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 63, Kurt Weitzmann and George Galvaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Manuscripts, Volume 1, From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), and Jeffrey C. Anderson, “The Illustration of Cod. Sinai Gr. 339,” *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 167–85.
2. Mary Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), pp. 91–93.



3. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, Revised ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867–1939). The earliest Byzantine authors to use the word are Procopius and Lydus.
4. Michael F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1204* (Washington, DC: 1969). dates this to Basil I's coinage, pp. 867–86.
5. Maria Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), p. 20.
6. Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, p. 66, gives the thirteenth century as date. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 20, notes that there are no twelfth-century imperial portraits that use the X version, suggesting that this *loros* was phased out earlier than Hendy stated.
7. I agree with Kalevrezou's dating of this ivory based on her convincing arguments about the position of Eudokia Makrembolitissa as βασιλεύς. Ioli Kalevrezou-Maxeiner, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa and the Romanos Ivory," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 302–25.
8. To date scholars have found no Greek word that the Byzantines used for this collar. *μανικίον* has been suggested but convincingly refuted in Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Vol. III, part 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1973), pp. 122–24. In addition, the *μανικίον* is the border of a garment and the *μανιάκη* is an armband of gold according to Liddell and Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*. Hendy opts to use this word as originally it meant "torque" which he says was replaced by the collar to cover the neck of the *loros*. Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, ed. D. Oaks (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), p. 161. Grierson uses the word *superhumeral*, a Latin-derived word, not used by the Byzantines. I will be using the word collar for it is the most descriptive English word for this accessory.
9. Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, "La Glorification de l'Empereur à l'Église du Grand Pigeonnier," in *Histoire et Archéologie* 63 (1982): 73–77.
10. According to Constantine VII, in the Middle Byzantine period, the words *stemma* and *diadem* are synonyms, as he uses both interchangeably in *The Book of Ceremonies*. E. Piltz confirms this in her treatment of crowns as well. Elisabeth Piltz *Kamelaukion et Mitra* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell International, 1997), pp. 26–27.
11. R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 34–38. Smith discusses the argument of whether or not Alexander took the diadem from Persian kings.
12. Constantine VII, *Le Livre Des Cérémonies*, BK. 1, trans. A. Vogt (Paris: Societe d' Edition, 1935), p. 175–77 and Michael McCormick, "Crowns," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
13. McCormick, "Crowns," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
14. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (New York: Penguin, 1979), p. 113.

15. Bernard Leib trans., *Anna Commene Alexiade* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1967), vol. 3: 4–5, pp. 114–15.
16. Leib, trans., *Anna Commene Alexiade*, vol. 3: 4–5, p. 114.
17. Leib, trans., *Anna Commene Alexiade*, vol. 3: 4–5, n. 5.
18. Bayerisches National Museum, *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters* (Munich: Bayerisches National Museum, 1955), pp. 27–28.
19. For more information see: C.L. Dimitrescu, "Quelques Remarques en marge du Coislin 79: Les Trois Eunuques," *Byzantion* 57 (1987): 32–45. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 143.
20. P.A. Drossoyianni, "A Pair of Byzantine Crowns," *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik* 32: 3 (1982): 529–39, Byzantine Museum accession numbers B.M. 7663a and b.
21. I came to this average by simply counting the rows in all of the images where the emperor or empress was standing. The Romanos Ivory, shows the emperor in a *loros* with sixteen rows of four columns of gems.
22. Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittenmore Collection: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, ed. D. Oaks (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection) 151; Hendy cites John Cinnamus, *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum* trans. August Meineke (Bonnae: Weberi, 1856), p. 28.
23. J.M. Duffy, *Michael Pselli Philosophica Minora: Concerning the Power of Stones*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1992). Typescript translation by T. Mathews, D. Katsarelis, V. Kalas, and S. Brooks 1994.
24. D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantine Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1992–92): 475.
25. A.T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Charleston, SC: Tempus Publishing Inc., 2001) p. 26.
26. Constantine VII., *Des Cérémonies* mentions the emperor wearing the *chlamys* frequently, e.g., bk. 1, pp. 138, 160, 176; bk. 2, p. 86 to name a few. Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) notes this throughout his work.
27. Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), p. 5.
28. Gabriel Bertoniere, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (Rome: Pontifical Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1972), pp. 124–35.
29. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. I, p. 57.
30. Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines du IXe et Xe Siècle* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972), p. 200.
31. Constantine VII, *Constantini Porphyrogeneti Imperatoris De Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo*, p. 638 translated in Michael F. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*.
32. Eric Addis Ivison, *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium (c. 950–1453) An Archaeological Contribution* (Doctoral Thesis, Centre for Byzantine and

- Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham, England, Birmingham, 1993), pp. 174–76.
33. M. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 154.
  34. Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1977).
  35. Michael McCormick, “Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies,” *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985): 12.
  36. Natalia Teteriatnikov, “Hagia Sophia: The Two Portraits of the Emperors with Moneybags as a Functional Setting,” *Arte Medievale* II:1 (1987): 47–66. While she does not explore the issue of the *loros* as a garment worn for donation, her article does link Easter with this portrait and the act of donation.
  37. Paul Magdalino, “Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I,” *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987): 55.
  38. Magdalino, “Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I,” *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik*, n. 7 he cites Georgius Monachus Continuatus, p. 845 and Leo Grammaticus, p. 258: “τοῦ βασιλέως λαῶρον φοπέσαντος καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δόντος καὶ νέαν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάσαντος.”
  39. Henry Maguire, “A Murderer Among Angels: The Frontispiece Miniatures of Paris Gr. 510 and the Iconography of the Archangels in Byzantine Art,” in *The Sacred Image East and West* ed. R. Ousterhout and L. Brubaker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).
  40. M. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 153.
  41. A.A. Vasiliev, “Harun Ibn Yahya and his Description of Constantinople,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 158–59.
  42. Henry Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages from the Seventh to the Seventeenth Centuries* (London: William Pickering, 1843) n.p.
  43. Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. C. Beamish, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 77–81.
  44. J. Burton-Page, “Marasim,” and T. Majda, “Libas,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*, ed. Bearman, P.J., Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
  45. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 94.
  46. Dominique Sourdel, “Robes of Honor in Abbasid Baghdad during the Eighth to Eleventh Centuries,” in *Robes and Honor: The World of Medieval Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 137.
  47. Sourdel, *Robes of Honor*, p. 143.
  48. Hambly, “From Baghdad to Bukhara, From Ghazna to Delhi: The Khil’a Ceremony in the Transmission of Kingly Pomp and Circumstance,” in *Robes and Honor: The World of Medieval Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), figure 8.1.
  49. T. Majda, “Libas,” *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*, quoting Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow, ed., *Kitab al-Muwashsha aw al-zarf wa ‘l-zurafa’* (Cairo: Maktabat a-Khanji, 1953) p. 163.

50. T. Majda, "Libas," *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*.
51. T. Majda, "Libas," *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*.
52. Androgyny, as defined by Marjorie Garber, is a style confined to women's dress and in effect refers to women dressing like men rather than men and women dressing in a manner that does not connote any gender. Marjorie Garber, *Vice Versa* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995).
53. James Breckenridge, *The Age of Spirituality*, Kurt Weitzmann ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), pp. 35–36.
54. Sotheby's, *An Important Private Collection of Byzantine Coins* (New York: Sotheby's, 1998), cat. no. 419.
55. Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, Vol. VI, trans. E. Renauld (Paris: Societé d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1926), p. 158. ". . . ἄλλ' ἔλαφρα τῆ στόλη . . ."
56. Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), pp. 79–83. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 144.
57. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 36.
58. Michael Psellus, *14 Byzantine Rulers*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (London: Penguin Classics, 1996) p. 329.
59. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 77. "ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΕΝ Χῶ Τῶ Θῶ ΜΓ ΒΑCΙ ΡῶΜΕῶΝ".
60. This is a minor gender difference in their clothing, which will be discussed further in chapter 3.
61. Wipertus H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Le 'Thorakion,'" in *Melanges d'Archaeologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Francaise de Rome* 83 (1971): 263–361. He first proposes this idea, which is picked up by several other scholars.
62. Nancy Sevcenko, "Loros," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 156. Hendy posits that the *thorakion* is another word for *sagion*, however, I have found the use of the word to be too inconsistent to formulate a definition for the word.
63. Psellus, *14 Byzantine Rulers*, p. 88 (italics mine).
64. A.P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 77 quoting Niketas Choniates 273.85–89.
65. A term used in women's magazines beginning in the 1970s to describe the onslaught of mens-styled suits for working women. I cannot find the first use of the term, rather it seems to be part of a common jargon used in these magazines.
66. John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997), Figure 94.
67. In *The Book of Ceremonies*, twelve courtiers are listed as wearing the *loros* with the emperor, which Vogt posits represents the twelve apostles with the emperor as Christ. In *The Kletorologion*, only four courtiers are mentioned wearing the *loros* on Easter with the emperor, p. 199.
68. For more information on this and other portraits in Karabas Kilise: Lisa Bernardini, "Les Donateurs des Églises de Cappadoce," *Byzantion* (1993): 118–40.

69. For more information on this church, see: Ewald Hein, Andrija Jakovljevic, and Brigitte Kleidt, *Zypern Byzantinische Kirchen und Kloster: Cyprus* (Rotingen: Melina-Verlag, 1996), pp. 55–60, and Andreas Stylianou and Judith A. Stylianou, “Asinou,” in *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* (London: Trigraph for the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1985).
70. Liudprand of Cremona, *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, bk. 3, trans. F.A. Wright (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1993), p. 85.
71. Comnena, *The Alexiad*, p. 84.
72. Helmut Puff, “The Sodomite’s Clothes: Gift-Giving and Sexual Excess in Early Modern Germany and Switzerland,” in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, ed. Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 255.
73. Valentin Groebner, “Describing the Person, Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers, Vested Figures, and the Limits of Identification, 1400–1600,” in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, ed. Jane Caplan and John Torpey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 15–27.
74. Jannic Durand et al., eds., *Byzance: L’art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992), cat. no. 356.
75. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 175.
76. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, pp.1–2.
77. Judith Herrin, “The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium,” *Past and Present*, 169 (2000): 20–21.
78. These statistics come from my own analysis of imperial succession to the throne in the Early, Middle, and Late Byzantine periods.
79. Again, these statistics come from my analysis of imperial succession in the Middle Byzantine period, compared with that of the early and late periods.
80. Barbara Hill, “Imperial Women and the Ideology of Womanhood in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 80.
81. Hugh Kennedy, “Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid Eleventh Century,” in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990* ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1992).
82. Kazhdan and Cutler, “Samonas,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
83. Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), p. 2.
84. Ruth Macrides, “Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship,” in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992), pp. 270–79.
85. D.C. Smythe, “Why do Barbarians stand round the emperor at diplomatic receptions?” in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992), pp. 305–312.
86. Vasiliev. *Harun Ibn Yahya and his Description of Constantinople*, p. 159.

87. John Lowden, "The Luxury Book as Diplomatic Gift," in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992).
88. A.T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Charleston, SC: Tempus Publishing Inc., 2001), p. 51.
89. For example, she wears a *chlamys* for coronation, Constantine VII., *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 11.
90. Constantine VII., *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 138 (Hypapante), bk. 1, p. 176 (Pentecost), bk. 1, p. 160 (Palm Sunday), bk. 2, p. 33 (promotion of a noble), bk. 2, p. 2 (coronation), bk. 2, p. 84 (funeral).
91. M. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 143.
92. See: Marielle Martiniani-Reber. "Les Tissus de Saint Germain," *Auxerre* (1990): 173–76.
93. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 144.
94. Robin Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," in *Art History*, 4:2 (1981): 131–149, discusses the theory that this is a penitent emperor, possibly Leo VI.
95. Psellos, *Chronographie*, bk. I, p.14. "Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς βασιλείους τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιγνοὺς ποικιλίαν, καὶ ὡς οὐκ εὐχερὲς πρᾶγμα. . . περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμων καταπεφρονήκει καὶ οὔτε στρεπτοῖς ἐκόσμει τὴν δέρην, οὔτε τιάραις τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀλλ' οὔτε περιπορφύροις χλαμύσι κατελαμπρύνετο."
96. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 322–3.
97. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 337.
98. Antony Eastmond and Lynn Jones, "Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia," in *Robes and Honor*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 173–75.
99. Durand, *Byzance*, cat. no. 20.
100. For an analysis of this image and others: Smythe, *Why do Barbarians Stand Round the Emperor at Diplomatic Receptions?* pp. 305–312.
101. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 147H.
102. M. Hendy, *Byzantine Coins: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, p. 151 and Elisabeth Piltz, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), p. 42.
103. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 78. "Προέχονται ἅπαντες οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἡλλαγμένοι ἀπὸ λευκῶν χλαυιδίων."
104. Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 106–113 for a full discussion of this idea.
105. Whittow, *Byzantium, 600–1025*, p. 108.
106. Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), p. 144.
107. Averil Cameron, Michael McCormick, Alexander Kazhdan among others have dealt with the Byzantine adherence to tradition and ceremony in their work.
108. Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines du IXe et Xe Siècle*, (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972),

- p. 167. “πρὸς τὸ συνανακλιθῆναι τῷ Βασιλεῖ εἰς τύπον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς δωδεκάδος φίλους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ’ . . . ἐνδεδυμένους τὰς οἰκειάς αὐτῶν χλαμύδας ἐμπροσθίω τῷ σχήματι, ὑποδεδεμένους δὲ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καμπάγια.”
109. Both *The Kleitorogion* and *The Book of Ceremonies* list the courtiers who dine with the emperor for various meals. These courtiers typically do not hold military titles.
110. Nikephoros Byrennios, *Nicephore Byrennios, Histoire*, trans. P. Gautier (Brussels: Byzantion, 1975), pp. 130–31.
111. Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium*, p. 75.
112. For more information on this manuscript see: A. Cutler and J.-M. Spieser, *Byzance Médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 323–36.

## Chapter 2 Court Dress

1. Cecily Hilsdale, “Appendix II Vatican Greek Manuscript 1851: Dating Difficulties,” in *Diplomacy by Design: Rhetorical Strategies of the Byzantine Gift* (University of Chicago, Ph.D. thesis, 2003).
2. Iohannis Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).
3. Elisabeth Piltz, “Middle Byzantine Court Costume,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829–1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), pp. 39–51.
4. The entries on clothing terms were all written by either Alexander Kazhdan or Nancy Sevckenko in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford University Press, 1997).
5. Andre Grabar and M. Manoussacas, *L’Illustration du Manuscrit de Skylitzes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid* (Venice: Bibliothéque de L’Institut Hellenique d’Etudes Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise, 1979).
6. Kyung-Hee Choi, A Reading of John Skylitzes’ *Synopsis Historiarum*: Contemporary Aspects in the Madrid Skylitzes Manuscript Illustrations (Unpublished manuscript, 1998), shows that war technologies in the Skylitzes illuminations reflect Western advancements in weaponry and armor because the manuscript was created in Norman, Sicily. Elena Boeck, *The Ideology of the Byzantine Body Politic: The Imperial Body in Visual Politics* (Paper given at College Art Association 91st Annual Conference, New York, 2003) demonstrates that Byzantine imperial iconography is shown through a foreign, probably Norman-Sicilian lens and does not carry the same messages as a Byzantine-produced image would have.
7. Suzy Dufrenne and Paul Canart, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, ed. Facsimile (Zurich: Belsar, 1988). Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 42.
8. The inscription naming the courtier and probably his title is now lost but Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 78 and Nancy Sevckenko in her lecture, *Approaching the Virgin* (Paper given at

- The Branner Forum, Columbia University, New York, 2000) agree that this figure is a courtier.
9. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 83.
  10. Hilsdale, *Diplomacy by Design*, appendix II.
  11. Piltz, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*.
  12. For example, the *magistros glorissimus* ranks fourteenth and wears a *chiton*, Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines du IXe et Xe Siecle* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), p. 94.
  13. Sevckenko, “Sticharion” in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
  14. Oikonomidès. *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 217. “. . . τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς, μαγίστρους, ἀνθυπάτους, πατριχίους καὶ ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλικούς ἀνθρώπους ταμιεῖεν αὐτοὺς μετὰ θωραχίων καὶ κονδομανίκων εἰς τὸ σάξιμον τῆς τραπέζης.”
  15. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Revised ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867–1939).
  16. For the derivation of the word *Kolobion*: Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), p. 97.
  17. Piltz, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, p. 43, also see her figure 12.
  18. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 609.
  19. Spatharkis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*.
  20. Sevckenko, “Colobium,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
  21. Tim Dawson, *The Forms and Evolution of the Dress and Regalia of the Byzantine Court: c.900–c. 1400* (Ph.D. Thesis, Melbourne: University of New England, Melbourne, 2002), p. 69.
  22. Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 25–34, 135–48.
  23. Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, “Vita of Elias Speliotes,” in *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database of the 8th–10th Centuries* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), Lines 82:1–3. . . ἐνδύει αὐτὴν ἱμάτιον ἔρυθρόν, κολόβιον ἀνδρικόν, καὶ ὑποδύσας τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ ἰμάσιον.
  24. E.A. Sophocles, ed., *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. I–II (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1957), “καμίσιον.”
  25. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 127. Δευτέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ κουβικουλαρίου ἀξία, ἧς βραβεῖον ἡ ἄμφιασις τοῦ περιβλατωμένου χαμισίου καὶ ἡ τοῦ λεγομένου παραγαυδίου στολή, ἡ καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν πραιποσίτων παρουσίας γνωρίζεται.”
  26. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)., p. 213, n. 112, from *On Imperial Expeditions*, ed. J.J. Reiske (Bonn: E. Neber, 1829), 499.5–500.3.
  27. Constantine VII, *Le Livre Des Cérémonies*, Trans. A. Vogt, (Paris: Societe d’Edition, 1935), p. 70 “. . . καὶ εἰσάγει αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Κουσιτωρίῳ, καὶ



- ὑπαλλάσσει αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάρχου στολήν, ἤγουν τὸ καμήσιον καὶ τὸ πελώνιον καὶ τὸν λῶρον καὶ ὑποδύει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ καλῶν.”
28. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 127 when it is worn with a *kamision* but it is unclear what type of garment it is, p. 126, n. 77 for Oikonomidès definition.
  29. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, “Paragaudion,” in *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
  30. John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), vol. M, 9: 233.
  31. E.A. Sophocles, ed., “Paragaudion,” in *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. I–II (New York Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1957).
  32. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 60, n. 1.
  33. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 60. “οἱ δὲ πραιπόσιτοι λαμβάνουσιν ἀνὰ ἱματίων ἔρραμένων ἀπὸ τριβλαπτιῶν ὀρνεμένων Β', καὶ οἱ δῆμαρχοι ἀβδία.”
  34. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 170, n. 153.
  35. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 92. “. . . οἱ δὲ εὐνοῦχοι πρωτοσπαθάριοι σπέκια ἀληθινά. . .”
  36. Piltz, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, p. 46.
  37. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 95. “. . . πρωτοσπαθάριοι, φοροῦντες τὰ τε στιχάρια αὐτῶν καὶ σαβάνια. . .” See also later in this chapter for a further discussion of this term.
  38. Piltz, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, p. 45.
  39. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 179. “. εἰσάγειν δὲ καὶ ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν σκαραμαγγίων πλὴν τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ μετὰ καὶ σαγίου ῥοαίου, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται.”
  40. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 87. “ἐκβαλόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλεῦς τὸ σαγίου, ὅπερ φορεῖ, καθέζονται ἀμφοτέροι οἱ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν τῇ ἀποκοπτῇ. . .”
  41. N.P. Kondakov, “Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine,” *Byzantion* 1 (1924): 7–49.
  42. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 93. “Οἱ δὲ πατρίκιοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κουβουκλείου μετὰ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου, φοροῦντες σαγία ἀληθινά, ἵππεύουσιν ἔξω τῶν κορτιῶν. . .”
  43. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 179. “εἰσάγειν δὲ καὶ ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν σκαραμαγγίων πλὴν τοῦ τοποτηρητοῦ μετὰ καὶ σαγίου ῥοαίου, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται.”
  44. Kondakov, *Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine*, p. 11.
  45. Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 110–111 who cites Liuprandus Cremonensis *Opera*, third edition, ed. J. Bekker, *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 1915) pp. 157–58.
  46. “Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktimon in Constantinople,” trans. Alice-Mary

- Talbot in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), p. 359.
47. P.A. Phourikes, “Peri tou etymou ton lexeon skaramangion, kabbadion, skaranikon,” *Lexikographikon Archeion tes meses kai neas hellenikes* 6 (1923): 444–73. Thanks to Professor Thomas Mathews and Natasha Kurchanova for pointing this article out to me.
  48. Kondakov, *Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine*, p. 16.
  49. CE. Bosworth E. van Donzel, B. Lewis, and Ch. Pellat, “Kirman,” *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, eds., (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), pp.147–66.
  50. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 125. “. . .καμίσιον λινοῦν ὑποβλαπτομένον σχήματι φιαλίου. . .” Oikonomidès translates the word φιαλίου as a blattion that is in the shape of a bowl or basin, see p. 124, n. 74.
  51. Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 127. “. . .τοῦ περιβλαπτομένου καμισίου. . .”
  52. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, figure 69.
  53. For example, guards, Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 1, p. 381, *mandatores*, Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 90.
  54. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 332.35–37 cited in A.P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 78.
  55. Ioli Kalezvrezou, N. Trahoulia, and S. Sabar, “Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter Gr. 752,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 195–219 and Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 142.
  56. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
  57. Liudprand, *The Embassy to Constantinople*, p. 194.
  58. Liudprand, *The Embassy to Constantinople*, p. 78.
  59. Ramon Muntaner, “The Expedition of the Grand Company to Constantinople’ ” in *The Portable Medieval Reader*, ed. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 460.
  60. Georgios I. Thanopoulos, *Ho Digenes Akrites’ Escorial kai to Heroiko Tragoudi ‘Tou Huiou tou Andronikou.’ Koina Typika Morphologika Stoicheia tes Poietikes tous* (Athens: Synchron Ekdotike, 1993), line 147.
  61. Lisa Bernardini, “Les Donateurs des Églises de Cappadoce,” *Byzantion* 62 (1993): 118–40.
  62. Charles H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery*, Vol. XI Corinth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942) pp. 37–42.
  63. Accession numbers 21.62 and 89.18.362, published in Annemarie Stauffer, *Textiles of Late Antiquity* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), cat. nos. 35 and 40.
  64. Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz*, (Munich: Bayerischen Nationalmuseum und der Staatlichen Ermitage, 1996).

65. See n. 40 and also the Metropolitan Museum accession numbers 90.5.31 and 25.3.217.
66. Metropolitan Museum accession numbers 73.71, 73.79 and 73.134.
67. Accession number CMNH 10061-149, published in Thelma K. Thomas, *Textiles from Medieval Egypt, A.D. 300-1300* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990), p. 53.
68. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 55.
69. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 3. “. . . τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ. . .”
70. Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, Vol. IV, p. 55. “. . . καὶ ἀθρήσας τὸν κείμενον οὐπὼ ἀκριβῶς ἐγνώκειν οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος, οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἐκ τῶν παρασήμων. . .”
71. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 262.
72. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, p. 95. “. . . πρωτοσπαθάριου, φοροῦντες τὰ τε στιχάρια αὐτῶν καὶ σαβάνια. . .”
73. Gonosova, “Textiles,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
74. Constantine VII, *Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, pp. 12, 16, 18 to name a few.
75. For more information on the *zoste patrikia* see: Pamela G. Sayre, “The Mistress of the Robes—Who Was She?” *Byzantine Studies* 13:2 (1986): 229-39.
76. For example men wear the *maphorion* Constantine VII, *Constantini Porphyrogeneti Imperatoris De Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo* ed. J.J. Reiske. 2 vols. (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829-30) sect. 623, line 12.
77. Tim Dawson convincingly proposes that the *thorakion* is an ornamental chain that crisscrosses the chest. Tim Dawson, *The Forms and Evolution of the Dress and Regalia of the Byzantine Court: c. 900-c. 1400* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of New England, Melbourne, 2002), pp. 175-78.
78. James Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, revised and expanded ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), p. 39.
79. These women are possibly *koubikoularia* (κουβικουλάρια) or women of the empress's chamber but as they are not labeled as such in the text so I am using the term “ladies in waiting” to denote their function rather than their actual rank, which is not known.
80. Hilsdale argues that the manuscript was likely commissioned by Maria of Antioch, a foreigner who had ties to the French court, for Anna-Agnes also from France in *Diplomacy by Design*, appendix. I would further argue that women such as these brought this style to the court.
81. χρυσοκλαβάρτους meaning literally gold stripes or clavi (which are embroidered) Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance*, p. 132.
82. Psellos, *Chronographie*, Vol. VI, p. 158 “. . . ἀλλ' ἔλαφρα τη στόλη. . .”
83. Embroidery is formed using a needle and thread and adding the design to an already woven ground. See Jennifer Harris ed., *Textiles 5,000 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1993) p. 31. Damask, where the design is made by the contrast of the binding of the warp and wefts, and brocade, where the design is made with an additional weft woven into the ground weave, are examples of fabrics with designs woven

- into them. See CIETA, *Fabrics: Vocabulary of Technical Terms* (Lyons: Centre Internationale d'Etudes Textiles Anciens, 1964).
84. “. . .χιτὼν κόκκινος χρυσοποίκιλος καὶ χλαμὺς καὶ ζώνη. . . χιτὼν ἐξ ἀλουργίδος χρυσόθετος” Oikomenides, *Les Listes de Préséances*, p. 97.
  85. “. . .ἀμφιάσις τοῦ περιβλαπτομένου καμισιού. . .” Oikomenides, *Les Listes de Préséances*, p. 127.
  86. Michael Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 307–338.
  87. A.A. Vasiliev, “*Harun Ibn Yahya and his Description of Constantinople*,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 159.
  88. My survey of books intended to be complete histories of dress found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art libraries shows that over 80 percent begin at the Renaissance.
  89. Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, p. 62.
  90. Laver, *Costume and Fashion*, p. 7.
  91. Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 17.
  92. Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. 350.
  93. A.E.R. Boak, “The Book of the Prefect,” *The Journal of Economics and Business History* 1 (1928–29): 601.
  94. Psellos, *Chronographie*, Vol. VII: p. 86 “. . .ἀτημλότερον τε ἡμφίεστο καὶ ἄγροικότερον διεσκευάστο. . .”

### Chapter 3 Dress of the Borderland Elite

1. John V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), pp. 7–9.
2. For example, modern American fashion moves from New York City and other major metropolitan areas reaching the middle of the country a year or two later.
3. A.P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) p. 77.
4. “Life, Deeds, and Partial Account of the Miracles of the Blessed and Celebrated Mary the Younger’ ” trans. Angeliki E. Laiou in Alice-Mary Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), pp. 266–67.
5. Marcus N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (New York: P. Feldheim, 1938), pp. 53–54.
6. Nikolas Oikonomides, “The Contents of the Byzantine House,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 210.
7. “Typikon of Theodora Pailaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople,” trans. Alice-Mary Talbot in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols, ed. John Thomas and Angela Constautirides Hero (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), p. 1258.

8. Klavs Randsborg, *The First Millenium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 158–60.
9. Speros Vryonis Jr., “The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas,” in *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations to the Muslim World*, ed. S.V. Jr. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), pp. 267–68, 272.
10. Y.K. Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza* (Ph.D. Thesis, Art History University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1972).
11. S.D. Goitein, “A Letter from Seleucia (Cilicia),” *Speculum* 39:2 (1964): 299.
12. Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, p. 78.
13. Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 332:35–37.
14. Eastmond identifies Lasas’s dress as Georgian court dress in Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 161.
15. Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines du IXe et Xe Siecle* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique), pp. 177–79. . . ἔθνικοὺς πάντας, οἷον Φαργάνους, χαζάρους, Ἀγαρηνοὺς, Φράγγους. . . εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τὸ ἔθνικὸν ἴδιον σχῆμα, οἷονεὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιλεγόμενον καββάδιω.
16. Constantine VII, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins (Budapest: Pazmany Peter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filológiai Intezet, 1949) sect. 32, p. 153. Σέρβλοι δὲ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ‘δοῦλοι’ προσαγορεύονται, ὅθεν καὶ ‘σέβυλα’ ἢ κοινῇ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικά. . . φησιν ὑποδήματα, καὶ ‘τζερβουλιανούς’ τοὺς τὰ εὐτελεῖ καὶ πενιχρὰ ὑποδήματα φοροῦντας. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχον οἱ Σέρβλοι διὰ τὸ δοῦλοι γενέσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων.
17. Speros Vryonis, “The Vita Basilii of Constantine Porphyrogenetos and the Absorption of Armenians in Byzantine Society,” in *Studies in Byzantine Institutions, Society and Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis Jr. (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1997), p. 53.
18. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, “La Vie de S. Philarete,” *Byzantion* (1934): 121. . . ῥύψασα τὸ φακιδόλιον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἤρξατο τίλλειν τὰς τρίχας αὐτῆς καὶ πορευθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. . .
19. Vryonis Jr., *The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas*, pp. 267–68.
20. G.F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London: Edward Arnold, 1903), p. 184.
21. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Desert and the Sown* (London: William Heinemann, 1907), p. 21.
22. For example, in studies such as: N.P. Kondakov, “Les Costumes Orientaux a la Cour Byzantine,” *Byzantion* 1: 7–49. and Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1954).

23. Armenian historians refer to the “Georgians” of the eighth century on as Armenians. The Armenian naxarar, Bagratuni, controlled Georgia by the ninth century. Georgian historians refer to the Bagratids as Georgians because they occupied much of Iberia, where Georgians historically lived, and for other more complex political and social reasons. I will use the terms Georgian when referring specifically to the artistic output of the region to the northeastern border of the empire as I am using some of the research of Antony Eastmond, who uses the term Georgian. The term Armenian will be used to denote the people of the other naxarars of Armenia, especially the Artsruni, who ruled to the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor by the ninth century. See Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 194–220 for a detailed history of the Transcaucasus in relation to Byzantium.
24. Nina G. Garsoian, “History of Armenia,” in *Treasures in Heaven*, ed. T.F. Mathews and R.S. Wieck (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1994) for dates of Armenian Byzantine relations.
25. Garsoian, *History of Armenia*, p. 14.
26. For example, Thomas F. Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, “Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan,” *The Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 56: 3 (1997): 294–315 and Spyros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
27. For a complete survey of the site see: Veronica Kalas, *Rock-Cut Architecture of the Peristrema Valley: Society and Settlement in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Ph.D. Thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, New York, 2000).
28. For more information see: Lyn Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and Catherine Jolivet-Levy, *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991). On the portraits see: Lisa Bernardini, “*Les Donateurs des Églises de Cappadoce*,” *Byzantion* 62 (1993): 118–40.
29. For more information see: Antony Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998) pp. 14–15.
30. For more information see: Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, pp. 34–38.
31. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, p. 35.
32. Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 12.
33. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 40–41.
34. For information see: Bernardini, *Les Donateurs des Églises de Cappadoce*.
35. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom eds., *The Glory of Byzantium*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. no. 150. and A. Starensier, *An Art Historical Study of the Silk Industry* (Ph.D. Thesis, Art History, Columbia University, New York, 1982), pp. 657–60.

36. Sevcenko, "Headgear," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
37. Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vols. 1–4 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966).
38. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934): 12. See earlier in this chapter for the full quotation.
39. As, e.g., in Sura XCVI, pp. 15–16 quoted in Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 16.
40. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 39.
41. W. Bjorkman, "Turban," *The Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition* ed. P.J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000).
42. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 39.
43. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 41–48.
44. Antony Eastmond and Lynn Jones, "Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia," in *Robes and Honor*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 150 argues that the turban and large robe with wide sleeves comprised the national royal dress of Armenia, as distinct from images of rulers in Islamic clothing of a crown, caftan and pants.
45. W. Bjorkman, "Turban," *The Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*.
46. Jean-Michel Thierry, *Armenian Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987) p. 140.
47. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery of Medieval Georgia*, figure 18.
48. For more information see: Bernardini, *Les Donateurs des Églises de Cappadoce*.
49. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession Number 30.3.56.
50. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession Number 30.3.55.
51. A. Cutler and J.-M. Spieser, *Byzance Médiévale 700–1204* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996) p. 196.
52. Thomas T.F. Mathews and Annie-Christine Daskalakis Mathews, "The Portrait of Princess Marem of Kars, Jerusalem 2556, fol.135b," in *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies In Honour of Nina Garsoian*, ed. J.P. Mahe and R.W. Thompson (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1996).
53. Dominique Sourdel, "Robes of Honor in 'Abbasid Baghdad During the Eighth to Eleventh Centuries," in *Robes and Honor*, ed. S. Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
54. Stillman and Sanders, "Tiraz," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*.
55. The Metropolitan Museum's collection of tiraz, e.g. are found on turbans, shawls, and sewn onto the front of short jackets.
56. Eastmond and Jones, *Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia*, quoting *The History of the House of Artsruni*, pp. 347–48.
57. Stillman and Sanders, "Tiraz," *The Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*.
58. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, pp. 49–51.
59. See Helen Evans, *Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century* (Unpublished manuscript, 1999) and Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* for discussion of borrowing of Byzantine dress by Georgian and Armenian royalty.
60. E.A. Sophocles ed., *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Vol. I–II (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1957) ενταλάμτικός.

61. This church is also known as Pancarlik to locals in Ortahisar and as Susam Bayiri to locals in Urgup, the neighboring town. For more information see: Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises Byzantines de Cappadoce*.
62. Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 650–1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), figures 41–43.
63. Stillman, *Arab Dress*, figure 13.
64. Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, vol. 2, trans. I.R. Gibbons (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1967), entry II.
65. Ettinghausen and Grabar, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, figure 267.
66. For a discussion of Bulgarian culture in Kastoria see: A.W. Epstein, “Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria: Dates and Implications,” *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980): 190–207 and Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025*, pp. 262–98. For a history of the region in general in this period: John V.A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1991).
67. Kazhdan, “Armenia,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
68. Talbot and Cutler, “Iveron,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
69. Michael Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 300–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 212–16.
70. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 300–1450*, p. 213.
71. David Jacoby, “Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade,” in *Byzantine Zeitschrift*, 84–85 (1991–92): 452–500 for a history of the Normans in the Peloponnese, and the region around Thebes and Corinth. Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) for a history of the Normans in Northern Greece.
72. Manolis Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens: Melissa Publishing, 1985), p. 38.
73. These paintings have been variously dated between the end of the eleventh and early thirteenth century. Chatzidakis convincingly argues that due to their relationship to paintings in Nerezi and Kurbinovo they must be dated between those two monuments. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 58.
74. Dora Piguet-Panayotova, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas Moyen Age* (Paris: De Boccard, 1987).
75. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 43.
76. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 43.
77. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*.
78. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, pp. 45–47.
79. Eustathius, *La Espugnazione di Tessalonia*, ed. S. Kyriakides (Palermo, 1961), p. 83. Translated by Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes*, p. 309.
80. Henry Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages from the Seventh to the Seventeenth Centuries* (London: William Pickering, 1843), engravings pp. 9–10; C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume* (London: Faber and Faber, Limited, n.d.), pp. 26–27, 36–41; N. Bradfield, *Historical Costumes of England from the Eleventh to the Twentieth Century* (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd.), pp. 20–25.
81. Francoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. C. Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 78–79.



82. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, pp. 77–81.
83. Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, pp. 14–19.
84. Anna Muthesius, “The Impact of the Mediterranean Silk Trade on Western Europe before 1200 AD,” in studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk unweaving, ed. A. Muthesius (London: Pindar Press, 1995) and Muthesius, “The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*, ed. A. Muthesius (London: Pindar Press, 1995) p. 209.
85. Muthesius, *The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 209.
86. For a history of the Norman silk industry see Jacoby, *Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade*.
87. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 142.
88. The women pictured in these sleeves are: Eudokia, wife of Theodore Synedonos, Euphrosyne Doukaina Palaiologina, wife of the protosebastos Constantine Komnenos Raoul Palaiologos, Eirene Kantakouzene, wife of the Sebastokrator Constantine Palaiologos and Anna Kantakouzene, wife of Michael Laskaris Bryennios Philanthropenos. Published in Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
89. Quoted in Jacoby, *Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade*, p. 462.
90. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 300–1450*, pp. 35–37.
91. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 137–38.
92. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 169–70.
93. Two of the major sources that outline the role of Cappadocia on the Silk Road: Gul Asatekin et al., *Along Ancient Trade Routes* (Belgium: Maasland, 1996); Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz* (Munich: Herausgegeben vom Bayerischen National Museum und der Staatlichen Ermitage, 1996).
94. I photographed two such loom pits at the site in 1998; Veronica Kalas has since photographed several others at the site.
95. Little is known about Byzantine looms. The few manuscript illuminations that survive show simple looms that could be used in the home for simpler weaving but could not have created many of the more complexly patterned surviving silks. See Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, pp. 19–26 for what is known of Byzantine looms.
96. Liudprand of Cremona, *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, trans. F.A. Wright (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1993), p. 202.
97. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, pp. 235–54.

#### Chapter 4 Non-Elite Dress

1. “Life of St. Thomais of Lesbos,” trans. Paul Halsall in Alice-Mary, Talbot, ed., *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), p. 314.
2. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (New York: Penguin, 1979), p. 377.

3. "Life of St. Thomais of Lesbos" trans. Halsall, p. 304.
4. "Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," trans. Alice-Mary Talbot in Talbot, *Holy Women of Byzantium*, p. 200.
5. Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 47.
6. On women and weaving: Angeliki Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *Jahrbuch Osterreichischen Byzantinistik* 31:1 (1981): 243.
7. Andrew J. Cappel, "The Poor" *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
8. George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 4.
9. Galavaris, *The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzenus*, pp. 37–69, 177–93.
10. Galavaris, *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, p. 63.
11. The six Middle Byzantine versions of the Homilies showing Gregory giving alms are: Taphou 14, Vlad. 146, Dionysiou 61, Sinai Gr. 339, Panteleimon 6, Paris Gr. 550 published in Galavaris, *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*.
12. George Galavaris, *Zographike Vyztantion Cheirotographon* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1995).
13. John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), figure 175.
14. Thomas F. Mathews, *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), figure 66.
15. Galavaris, *The Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, p. 164.
16. Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979).
17. For example the churches of Nea Moni and Daphne use almost no non-elites in the background of the mosaics. Hosios Loukas contains a few non-elites figures in its mosaics, e. g., in the nativity scene a shepherd plays a flute, but the clothing represented is not of a specifically medieval fabric or cut and rather is anachronistic as the biblical figures' clothing is.
18. This church is also known as Goreme 1 and El Nazar. Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, vol. 2, entry I, trans. I.R. Gibbons (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1967).
19. For example, this chest scarf can be seen in images from The Menologium of Basil II.
20. No object number is given for this object, which is on view in their permanent collection.
21. One notable example: court historian to the Komnenoi, Constantine Manasses, wrote an *ekphrasis* on bird hunting. Leo Sternbach, "Analecta Manassea," *Eos* 7 (1901): 180–94.
22. Zoltan Kadar, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978), p. 91.
23. Bartusis, "Village Community" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
24. *Chronicles of the Crusades: Joinville and Villehardouin*, trans. M.R.B. Shaw (New York: Dorset Press, 1985), p. 92.

25. “. . . τὸ ἐν μετὰ γούνης ἄσπρης” in H. Mihaescu, “Les Termes Byzantins βίρρον, βίρρος ‘Casaque, Tunique d’Homme’ et γούνα ‘Fourrure,’” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* XIX (1981): 428, n. 22.
26. Kazhdan, “Furrier,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.
27. *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, trans. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 39.
28. Constantine VII, *Book of Ceremonies*, On Goths, bk. 2, chap., 92, trans. A. Vogt (Paris: Societe d’Edition, 1935). “οἱ Γᾶπθοι φοροῦντες γούνες. . .”
29. Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 125.
30. On their income and status. John Haldon, “Military Service, Lands and the Status of Soldiers,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1998): 1–67.
31. Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), figure 94.
32. George T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), pp. 52–55, 288–89.
33. Kadar, *Zoological Illuminations*, p. 91. See also, I. Spatharakis, *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London: Pindar Press, 1996), pp. 146–92.
34. Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), pp. 13, 23, 39.
35. Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, vol. II, bk. VI, trans. E. Renauld (Paris: Societe D’Edition Les Belles Lettres), p. 20. “Οἱ μὲν ἐντελέστεροι καὶ περικνημῖσι καὶ θώραξιν ἑαυτοὺς καθοπλίσαντες καὶ τὴν ἵππον κατάφρακτον στήσαντες, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ὡς εἶχον ἕκαστοι καθοπλίσθησαν.”
36. Comnena, *The Alexiad*, p. 257.
37. George T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), the sections that address clothing and armor are: *On Strategy*, p. 53, sect. 16, *On Skirmishing*, p. 215, sect. 19, and *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, p. 289, sect. 16. Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth*, pp. 13, 23, 39. The *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, also translated by McGeer in this text is nearly identical to the *Praecepta Militaria* in its descriptions of proper attire.
38. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, p. 55.
39. Michael Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy 300–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 307–309.
40. John Haldon, Military Service, Lands and the Status of Soldiers, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1998): 22–26.
41. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 100–101.
42. Carnegie Museum of Natural History accession numbers CMNH 28448–8 and CMNH 10061–221 published in Thelma K. Thomas, *Textiles from*

*Medieval Egypt, A.D. 300–1300* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990).

43. Labeled by the museum as a Byzantine textile of unknown date and provenance, no accession number was given for the object.
44. The Washington DC. Textile Museum, accession number 71.109.
45. Carnegie Museum of Natural History, accession number CMNH 10061–213.
46. In addition to my own observation, which finds that certain figures are dressed in distinctly non-Greek clothing to signify their alien status (fols. 2 and 233 are examples), the commentary for the facsimile refers to this figure as a foreign, Eastern Orthodox Church, ed., *Il Menologio di Basilio II Codice Vaticano Greco 1613* (Rome: Fratelli Bocca, 1907).
47. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, vol. 2, entry II.
48. Object number 71.109, The Textile Museum, Washington, DC.
49. On the difficulty of distinguishing Byzantine from Islamic textiles because of similar weaving techniques see: Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Verlag Fassbaender, 1997), pp. 3, 58–64.
50. My thanks to Warren Woodfin who first asked this question about domestic servants and slaves.
51. V. Minorsky, “Maravazi on the Byzantines,” *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* X (1950): 462.
52. Hilal al-sabi, *The Rules and Regulations of the Abbasid Court*, ed. trans. Elie A. Salem (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1977), p. 18.
53. Evans and Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 191.
54. Italo Furlan, *Codici Greci Illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*, vol. 3 (Milan: Edizioni Stendhal, 1981), pp. 42–43.
55. Furlan, *Codici Greci*, p. 46.
56. Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984), p. 17.
57. Ruth Webb, “Salome’s Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium,” in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 121–22.
58. Evans and Wixom, *Glory of Byzantium*, cat. no. 142.
59. These works are unpublished. The museum dates them to the eleventh century and they are in keeping with the style of other Middle Byzantine sculpture in the galleries. Other works of Middle Byzantine sculpture in the museum are published in Nezhir Firatli, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1955).
60. Robert Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, Vol. XVI, Corinth (Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957).
61. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, p. 38.
62. Galavaris, *Zographike Vyzantion*, figure 84.
63. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 210.
64. Ettinghausen and Grabar, *Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), figure 199.

65. Webb, *Salome's Sisters*, pp. 125–26.
66. Constantine VII, *Le Livre Des Cérémonies*, bk. 2, trans. A. Vogt (Paris: Societe d'Édition, 1935), p. 103.
67. H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 45.
68. Procopius, *The Secret History*, trans. G.A. Williamson (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 84.
69. Olexa Powstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev*, Vol. III-IV, *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, 1954), p.132.
70. Powstenko, *St. Sophia in Kiev*, p. 132.
71. A.A. Vasiliev, "Harun Ibn Yahya and his Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932): 149–163.
72. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 182, and 194.
73. Kazhdan and Talbot, "Vita of Elias Spelaiotes," *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), line 82. "κολόβιον ἀνδρικόν."
74. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934): 135. "ἐκβαλοῦσα τὸ ἴδιον στιχάριον συνέκοψεν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέδωκε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς."
75. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 580–81.
76. Angeliki E. Laiou, trans., "Life of Mary the Younger," in *Holy Women in Byzantium* ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), pp. 266–67.
77. Procopius, *Secret History*, p. 82.
78. Metropolitan Museum of art accession numbers 17.190.138–39.
79. Alexander Kazhdan, "Women at Home," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998): 5.
80. For example, Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1999) and P.J.P Goldberg and Felicity Riddy, eds., *Youth in the Middle Ages* (York: York Medieval Press, 2004).
81. Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages*, pp. 130–31.
82. Victoria and Albert, child's tunic from Egypt, seventh century, linen with wool tapestry, no inventory number. Other examples: St. Petersburg Museum, girl's dress, Persian, eight to tenth century, linen and silk, inv. no. Kz6697; Metropolitan Museum, child's tunic, Egyptian, fourth century, MMA no. 27.239.
83. Cecile Morrison and Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World," in *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A.E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 85–86 and 843.
84. Morrison and Cheynet, *Prices and Wages*, p. 843.

85. Morrison and Cheynet, *Prices and Wages*, p. 843.
86. Morrison and Cheynet, *Prices and Wages*, pp. 85–86. A *hyperpera* is a gold coin that was slightly heavier than the basic unit of money. Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), p. 5.
87. Nikolas Oikonomides, “The Contents of the Byzantine House,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 210.
88. Klaus Randsborg, *The First Millenium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 159–60.
89. Petra Sijpesteijn, “Request to buy Colored Silk,” in *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak*, 2 vols., ed. Ulrike Horak, Hermann Harraver, and Rosario Pintaud: (Firenze: Gonnelli, 2004). p. 16.
90. Evidence for the sale and purchase of second-hand clothing is provided anecdotally in *vitae* and legal documents. Many are compiled in Jennifer L. Ball, *The Fabric of Everyday Life: The Procurement of Textiles in the Home* (Paper given in *Byzantine Habitat: Class, Gender and Production*, Princeton, May 2003), p. 10.
91. Speros Vryonis Jr., “the Will of a Prouincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas,” in *Byzantium: Its Interanal History and Relations to the Muslim World*, ed. S.V. Jr (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), in *Europe and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
92. Randsborg, *The First Millenium*, p.160.
93. *To Eparhikon Bibliion*, introduction Ivan Dujcev, trans. E.H. Freshfield, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1970), p. 245.
94. He argues that *paganos* referred to someone living in the country, which he interprets as lower class and therefore someone who wears a short garment. As this stereotype is prevalent among art made at court, it is likely that a term based on such a notion developed. Tim Dawson, *Dress and Regalia of the Byzantine Court: c. 900–c.1400* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of New England, Melbourne), p. 51.
95. Procopius, *The Secret History*, p. 82.

## Chapter 5 An Examination of the Textile Evidence

1. The description of the coronation of Baldwin I suggests that every Crusader present was given a robe from the Imperial storehouses: “. . .And all the barons were very richly dressed and there was no Frenchman or Venetian who did not have a robe of samite or of silken cloth. . .” Robert of Clari, *La Conquete de Constantinople*, pp. 93–95 in Michael Hendy, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittenmore collection: Alexius I to Michael VIII*, ed. D. Oaks (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), pp. 143–44.
2. M.R.B. Shaw, trans., *Chronicle of then Crusades: Joinville and Villehardouin* (New York: Dorset Press, 1985), p. 92.
3. On ecclesiastical dress see: Bayerisches National Museum, *Sakrale Gewander des Mittelhalters* (Munich: Bayerisches National Museum, 1955);

- Karel C. Innemee, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), and Warren Woodfin, *Late Byzantine Liturgical Vestments and the Iconography of Sacerdotal Power* (Doctoral thesis, Art History Department, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2002).
4. For example, the monks at the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Backovo had to prevent stealing, alteration, disrepair, or any harm to the textiles in their care, trans. Robert Jordan in John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), p. 551.
  5. Muthesius catalogued nearly 1400 pieces of silk primarily in European collections (over 1200 of which she lists without date or provenance) of which sixty belong securely to the Middle Byzantine period and were made within the empire in Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Verlag Fassbaender, 1997). My own analysis of North American textile collections finds an additional dozen Middle Byzantine silks that belong securely within the period.
  6. For example, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has five pieces: 09.50.995, 46.156.18a, 90.5.4, 90.5.504, and 1987.442.5 and the Washington D.C. Textile Museum has two such pieces: 71.109 and 711.22 to name a few collections.
  7. Fragments of Byzantine garments and three leather shoes were uncovered in graves during the 2002 season at Amorium. The reports give almost no information as to the garments' forms. Lisa Usman, "Excavation, Conservation and Analysis of Organic Material from a Tomb in the Narthex of the Lower City Church" in *Armonium Reports II: Research Papers and Technical Reports*, ed. C.S. Lightfoot (Oxford: BAR International Series 1170, 2003), pp. 193–201. Tim Dawson reported on a tunic that he claims is Middle Byzantine in "A Tunic from Eastern Anatolia," *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* 36 (2002): 931–99. Further examination of the findings at the Manazan Caves in Anatolia, where the tunic was found, and an analysis of the tunic itself, which Dawson was not able to do, are needed to confirm or deny this claim. Plain yellow silk, probably once part of a headscarf, was found at York and was an import from either Byzantine or Islamic regions. York Archaeological Trust, *The Small Finds, The Archaeology of York* 17, ed. P.V. Addyman (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1993).
  8. Diane Lee Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts: First Millennium Egyptian Textiles in the Carl Austin Rietz Collection of the California Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 11 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), p. 38, especially figure 12a.
  9. Of the textiles examined for this project, more than half were cut before entering their current home.
  10. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, cat. no. M131.

11. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, pp. 104–112. She also found other similar but uncatalogued textiles that were too fragile to be examined and thus are not included here.
12. For example Eustathius Boilas left several garments to his church, not all of which were ecclesiastical robes, Speros Vryonis Jr., “The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas” in *Byzantine: Its Internal History and Relations to the Muslim World*, ed. S.V. Jr. Variorum Reprints, 1971), pp. 267–68.
13. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, cat. no. 48.
14. See, e.g., Cat. nos. 149–50 in Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997).
15. The dimensions were mapped out on a slightly above average sized man and woman; the man is 6’2” tall, with a jacket size of 42, and the woman measures 5’6” tall with a dress size of 6. I am not proposing that these textiles were part of clothing made for a specific gender; I am simply using a man and woman’s measurements to give the reader some sense of scale.
16. Jennifer Harris, ed., *Textiles 5,000 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1993) p. 19–20.
17. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, p. 151.
18. For a description of the weaves used on extant textiles categorized by period and location made, Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, pp. 151–57. This shows that twills are the most common in the Middle Byzantine period.
19. “Asterius of Amaseia, Homily I,” in Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 51.
20. Constantine VII, *Constantini Porphyrogeneti Imperatoris De Ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo* ed. J. J. Reiske 2 vols. (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829–30), Sect. 623, line 12.
21. For example “. . . οἱ δὲ πραιπόσιτοι λεοντάρια χρυσόταβλα.” (. . . and the praisitotai [wear] lion-covered cloaks with gold tablia) and he uses the term *ἄετοῦς* (referring to a garment with eagles). Constantine VII, *De Cerimoniis*, bk. 1 Sect. 181 and 578.
22. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, “The Emperor in the Byzantine art of the Twelfth Century,” *Byzantine Forschungen* 8 (1982): 177–78. The authors note that John Kamateros’ speech follows Gregory Nazianzenus’ closely; however, the taste for such clothing must have existed in the twelfth century or the oration would not have made sense.
23. John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, bk. M sect. 9, 233, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986).
24. Saint Theodoret of Cyrrus, *On Providence*, in Muthesius *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, p. 23.
25. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, p. 104.
26. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, cat. no. M47.



27. Recent exhibitions include garments from Byzantine Egypt. Annemarie Stauffer, *Textiles of Late Antiquity* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1995), Eunice Dauterman Maguire, *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Egypt: The Rich Life and the Dance* (Champaign: Krannert Art Museum, 1999). Some collections with significant pieces from Byzantine Egypt are: The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, The Textile Museum, Washington, DC, Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyon, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Abegg Stiftung, Berne, to name a few.
28. Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Parure d'une princesse Byzantine: tissus archéologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra* (Geneva: Musées d'art et d'histoire, 2000).
29. Elizabeth Crowfoot, "The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop," in *Studies in Textile History*, ed. V. Gervers (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1977).
30. Anna A. Ierusalimskaja and Birgitt Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz* (Munich: Herausgegeben vom Bayerischen National museum und der Staatlichen Ermitage, 1996).
31. Ierusalimskaja and Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz*.
32. Despoina Evgenidou et al., *The City of Mystras*, trans. D. Hardy (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2001), cat. nos. 1–4.
33. *Evgenidou, Mystras*, p. 148.
34. Crowfoot, *The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop*, p. 43.
35. Crowfoot, *The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop*, p. 48.
36. Crowfoot, *The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop*, p. 50.
37. All of these garments are catalogued in Ierusalimskaja and Borkopp, *Von China Nach Byzanz*.
38. Sarah-Grace Heller argues that French Crusade literature demonstrates a desire by Westerners for figurative textiles in Sarah-Grace Heller, "Fashion in French Crusade Literature: Desiring Infidel Textiles," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress*, ed. D. Koslin and J.E. Snyder (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 103–119.
39. On the notion of fashion as desire in the medieval world, see Heller, *Fashion in French Crusade Literature*, p. 110. The term "fashion system" comes from the book of the same title by Rolande Barthes, *The Fashion System* trans. M. Ward and R. Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
40. I examined many of the North American textile collections myself, using the Census of Textiles in North American Collections at Dumbarton Oaks as a starting point, and discovered that this was not an exhaustive list. I was also able to examine some European collections, namely those in London, and throughout Greece and Italy. Anna Muthesius', catalogue of Byzantine silks was the most significant source used for the remaining European collections. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*.

### Conclusion

1. Despina Stratoudaki White and Joseph R. Berrigan, *The Patriarch and the Prince*, (Brookline, MA: The Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982) p. 60.
2. "St. Theodora of Thessalonike," trans. Alice-Mary Talbot in *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996). p. 185.
3. James Laver *Costume and Fashion*, Revised and Expanded ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995) and Mary Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959) are just two examples of dress histories that use the Ravenna mosaics as representative of all of Byzantine dress.

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## INDEX

- Abdia, 42  
armor, 89–92
- baltadin, 45  
belts, 45, 113  
blattia, 45, 53  
Book of Ceremonies, 5, 27, 37  
Book of the Eparch, 5
- caftans, 63–5, 70; *see also* kabbadion  
chiton, 40  
chlamys, 21, 24, 29–35, 38, 43, 52  
    and women, 34–5  
cloaks, 43–5; *see also* chlamys; sagion;  
    skaramangion  
clothing  
    colors of, 16, 105–15  
    cost of, 58–9, 101–2  
    making of, 75, 83  
collar, 22–3  
crowns, 13; *see also* headgear  
cuirass, 32
- dalmatic, 21, 49  
diadem, 13  
divetesion, 11, 15–16, 30–1, 40  
dress  
    Armenian, 32, 60–1, 63–77  
    Bulgarian, 31–2, 60–1, 71  
    Cappadocian, 62–9  
    of children, 100–1  
    of country folk, 87  
    of entertainers, 94–8  
    and gender, 19–29, 98–100  
    Georgian, 32, 60–1, 63–77  
    of hunters, 86–9  
    Islamic, 20, 60–1, 64–77  
    Kastorian, 69–74  
    of laborers, 84–6  
    Norman, 60–1, 73–4  
    of the poor, 82–4  
    Roman, 6, 30  
    of servants, 92–4  
    of slaves, 92–4  
    of soldiers, 89–92; *see also* armor  
    Western, 6, 19–20, 51, 73–4  
    of women, 19–29, 49–52, 57–77,  
        93, 98–100  
dress terminology, 37–49, 53; *see also*  
    specific terms for garments  
    costume, 3–4  
    dress, 3–4  
    fashion, 1–4  
dresses, 72–4, 112
- Easter, 17–18
- fashion, 1–4, 7–9, 117–21  
fibula, 21, 24, 30, 52  
fur, 86–9, 113–14
- gemstones, 14–15, 45
- headgear, 46–9, 51; *see also* crowns;  
    diadem; kornikliia; turbans  
himation, 40
- insignia, 45–6, 49, 51
- jewelry, 14–15, 21, 24, 30, 45

- kabbadion, 58, 63–5  
 kamision, 41–2  
 khil'a, 20, 65  
 Kleterologion, 5, 27, 37  
 kolobion, 41  
 kondomanikion, 40–1  
 kornikliā, 46; *see also* headgear
- loros, 11, 14–29, 38  
     archangels, 18  
     history of, 12–13
- maphorion, 49–50  
 mi'djar, 20  
 military dress, 22, 30, 32, 34
- paludamentum, 30  
 pants, 89–92, 112–13  
 paragaudion, 42  
 pelonion, 42  
 pendulia, 13, 21  
 ptergyes, 89
- qaba, 64
- sabanion, 42, 49  
 sagion, 43
- sakkos, 26  
 schema, 49  
 shoes, 112–13  
     boots, 89–92  
     imperial, *see* tzangia  
 skaramangion, 43–5  
 spekion, 42–3  
 sticharion, 40
- tablion, 24, 30, 33, 45, 52–3  
 taylasan, 65  
 textiles, 51, 73–5, 92, 105–15,  
     123–7  
 thorakion, 23  
 thorax, 89  
 tiraz, 67–8, 70  
 toga, 12  
 tunics, 40–3, 84–6, 111; *see also* abdia,  
     chiton, himation; kamision;  
     kolobion; kondomanikion;  
     paragaudion; pelonion; sabanion;  
     spekion; sticharion; imperial,  
     *see* divetesion  
 turbans, 48, 65–7, 71; *see also* headgear  
 tzangia, 13–15; *see also* shoes
- zoste patrikia, 49–50